PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Association of History Teachers

OF THE

Middle States and Maryland

Number 26 **1928**

Agriculture and Agrarian Discontent	*Harry J. Carman*
The Patriotic Thesis	*Frances Morehouse*
Our Debt to the American Indians	*Joseph C. Green*
True and False Nationalism	*Carlton J. H. Hayes*

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TRENTON-PRINCETON MEETING

May 18-19, 1928

THE AUDITORIUM, STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, TRENTON

Friday Afternoon, May 18, 3:00 o'clock.

GENERAL TOPIC—*"Community Civics"*.

a. *"Problems in the Teaching of Community Civics"*, Mr. W. G. Kimmel, Supervisor of Social Studies, State Department of Education, Albany, N. Y.

DISCUSSION:

a. Miss Lora B. Jahn, High School, Trenton, N. J.

b. Mr. J. Wesley Foote, John Barry Public School, Philadelphia, Pa.

Friday Evening, May 18, 6:30 o'clock.

ADDRESSES:

a. *"Agriculture and Agrarian Discontent"*, Professor Harry J. Carman, Columbia University.

b. *"The Patriotic Thesis"*, Professor Frances Morehouse, Hunter College.

Saturday Morning, May 19, 10:15 o'clock.

GENERAL TOPIC—*"Some Neglected Aspects of American History"*.

"José Bonifacio, The Neglected Liberator of Brazil", Dr. Paul Vanorden Shaw, Columbia University.

PROBLEMS IN THE TEACHING OF COMMUNITY CIVICS

Probably the only justification for a discussion of Community Civics at the present time is the fact that there are so many vital problems which need to be considered in connection with courses which bear the title "Community Civics". Despite the fact that two decades have passed since Dunn first developed a new type of course in civics in Indianapolis, evidence is at hand to indicate that there is need of a reconsideration and re-evaluation of current practices in the organization and administration of courses in Community Civics.

The rapid introduction of courses in Community Civics through voluntary action on the part of school authorities and through mandatory legislation would seem to indicate that Community Civics is a most worthwhile study for pupils in the secondary school. Despite this optimistic outlook, in some states Community Civics is still looked upon by some school administrators as an "up-start" course that has not yet attained "respectability". In other centers the course is often taught by teachers who have had no special training, with former teachers of German taking over the course after the war. In still other instances teachers who have been unsuccessful in other subjects have been assigned to teach civics, because, in the words of one principal, "anyone can teach it". Some school administrators who apparently do lip-service to training for citizenship, force the course into summer sessions and odd places in pupils' programs in order to meet mandatory requirements.

While these conditions are probably by no means typical of the status of civics throughout the country, they suggest certain problems for discussion in this paper. Four problems are selected for consideration: (1) the objectives of the course; (2) the organization of courses in Community Civics; (3) the humanizing of the course through introduction of pedagogical activities as an integral part of the course of study; and (4) the time allotment and the place of the course in the program of studies for the junior high school.

One trend in secondary education during the past decade has been the formulation of objectives which are intended to determine the content of courses of study and to influence, to some extent, the procedures used in the classroom. All teachers of civics are, or should be, familiar with the pedagogical literature on objectives for civics, but in many instances the lists of objectives tend to be merely "paper objectives", which seem to be unattained in practice. In recent years the objectives of civics instruction and training in citizenship have been mentioned and discussed by all types of persons to the extent that a condition has been reached in which words that do not connote meaning have apparently resulted in a "confusion of tongues". Now that "training for citizenship" has been deserted as a dependable slogan by platform speakers, teachers of civics are again free to attempt to salvage their objectives, and to reformulate them in terms of the objectives of secondary education for guidance in instruction.

But civics teachers are by no means agreed on theoretical considerations concerning objectives, even though there is agreement in formal statements.[1] There is still frequent evidence of a narrow conception of the reproduction of subject matter as an objective, and a scarcity of evidence that pupils acquire techniques and procedures in the gathering of civic information and in thinking about civic situations and problems. The fundamental issue is whether pupils are to gain self reliance and the ability to organize their thinking about civic situations or whether they are to continue to be controlled by random opinions of the crowd.

There is considerable evidence that pupils are indoctrinated with all kinds of "speech gestures", "magic formulas", "catchwords", and slogans under the guise of instruction in civics. While these conventional responses do have a place in current life, it does not necessarily follow that they should have a place in the classroom. Most of them can be traced to some clever propaganda furnished by an organized minority under the guise of "education". One of the rules for the dissemination of propaganda is to get it into the schools in order to obtain most effective results.[2]

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[1]Robert A. Cummins, "Good Citizenship," *Peabody Journal of Education* I (January, 1924), 221-28, contains the results of a test on the concepts of citizenship, and an empirical analysis of the concepts.

[2]Knight Dunlap, *Social Psychology*, 256. (The Williams and Wilkins Co., 1925.)

Another problem in the formulation of objectives is the results obtained through the inculcation of conventional responses. Confucius is said to have once remarked, "The bane of all things noble is the pattern citizen". To what extent is instruction in civics with current emphasis on "drives", slogans, and the like fostering the development of "pattern citizens"? Some keen observers[3] maintain that the term "good citizen" is so stressed in civics instruction through the indoctrination of current ideologies, use of rating scales, and prizes, that it is losing its effectiveness, and may even result ultimately in negative responses on the part of pupils, when as adults they realize the futility of what has been given them under the guise of instruction in civics. These observers also claim that, consciously or unconsciously, "good citizen" and "pattern citizen" are often synonymous terms in the mind of the classroom teacher. While all teachers of civics recognize the need of socially-minded citizens and the development of a civic consciousness, there is also the consideration of the rights and obligations of the individual, and of the extent to which the individual shall be submerged in the group.

Another aspect of civics instruction which may be important in the formulation and evaluation of objectives, is the treatment of respect for and obedience to law. Certainly a fundamental objective in civics instruction is the development of a respect for and a willingness to abide by school regulations, traffic regulations, and the statutes; in short, the fostering of a law-abiding and orderly citizenship. The problem is how to develop these attitudes, and it is resolved into a consideration of objectives. Shall these qualities of citizenship be developed through indoctrination of current ideologies or through understanding which grows out of a consideration of concrete situations comprehensible to pupils? Are pupils to gain a concept of citizenship based on the authority of the State or one based on the ethical conception of citizenship? Most teachers will probably agree that understanding is paramount and most essential. But results on multiple-choice tests indicate that more than one-half of the pupils in one high school state that a "good citizen is one who obeys all laws," rather than a "good citizen is one who best serves his community." Apparently

[3]See H. W. Guest, "Education for Citizenship," *Education*, XLVIII (February, 1928), 344-48.

these pupils have failed to realize that one may obey all laws and still be a negative type of citizen who does nothing to further those positive and constructive aspects of community life which do not find their way into statutory regulations. Are teachers of civics so ardent in their emphasis upon observance of law that they tend to promote non-consciously an attitude of mind in pupils that furthers the observance of law, with the possibility of a disregard for those manifold aspects of citizenship which are not covered by statutory regulations?

A fourth aspect of the consideration of objectives is the place of the unspecialized activities of citizenship, that is, those activities performed by most adults which do not have a direct relation to political life. Bobbitt[4] has called attention to the fact that the unspecialized activities of citizenship are of great importance in the life of individuals. Mahan,[5] in a study of the unspecialized duties and obligations of citizenship through the use of the interview, found that the persons interviewed listed duties, difficulties, and other items not directly related to courses in civics, that there was little or no agreement between lists of activities of citizenship compiled by high-school pupils and similar lists prepared from the interviews with adults, and that only about two per cent of the space in commonly used texts in Community Civics was devoted to a consideration of the most important aspects of citizenship mentioned by adults. In view of these data, and there is no reason to doubt their validity, are courses in Community Civics made up of subject matter of questionable worth for the use of pupils in terms of civic duties and obligations which they will face as adult citizens? Are the courses composed of materials which do not meet the general needs of current adult life? Are they so specialized in character that they fail to meet the objectives of secondary education? These and other similar questions cannot be answered at the present time because results of investigations at hand are not sufficiently comprehensive to warrant generalizations.

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[4]Franklin Bobbitt, *How to Make a Curriculum*, chapter VII, especially pp. 120-123. (Boston, 1924).

[5]Thomas I. Mahan, "The Duties, Difficulties, and Traits of Citizenship," *The Teachers Journal and Abstract*, I (November, 1926) 618-22. See C. O. Wells, *The Political Science of Everyday Life*. M. A. Thesis, University of Chicago, Department of Education, 1925.

Until more extensive investigations of this crucial problem are made, it is necessary to rely on expert opinion. But teachers and curriculum-makers cannot afford to continue to rely on expert opinion when such important problems are unanswered, and when opportunities are available for extensive investigations.

The foregoing presentation of certain problems in formulation of objectives demands earnest and diligent attention at the present time if civics instruction is to be effective and to be in agreement with current objectives of secondary education. Often persons who are not directly connected with educational activities furnish valuable clues on objectives, and a statement by Henry Ford, which implies certain abilities needed by adults, is pertinent:

> "Give men or women the ability to think for themselves and they will soon acquire the facts necessary for the solution of their problems. The ability to recognize the truth when you see it and the ability to think a thing through to its logical conclusion—these are important. These will help a man or woman contribute his or her share to the social welfare and progress of the world".[6]

This statement furnishes a point of view for objectives in civics, and in the social studies in general. Whatever the subject matter in civics shall be, and such a consideration is important, even more important is the need for a conception of subject matter as a means to an end, namely, the development of the ability to think through civic situations in terms of available facts. But this ability requires the acquisition of techniques of thinking, the collection, collation, and evaluation of facts, and these are dependent upon a wide range of experience, part of which, at least in a civics course, must be obtained through the use of a variety of types of content materials. More attention must be given to wide experiential reading in order that pupils may gain a basis for understanding, with diminishing attention to classroom recitations. More emphasis must be placed on the acquisition of first-hand information through visits, interviews, and the gathering of materials on civics situations. These items should receive careful consideration in the formulation of the actual objectives of

[6]Henry Ford, "My Philosophy of Industry," *The Forum*, LXXIX (April, 1928), 486.

instruction. Through the complicated processes of gathering materials, evaluation of them, and thinking about them, teachers and pupils must keep in mind the distinction between means to an end—namely, experiences gained through observation, reading, and the use of laboratory equipment—and the end itself, that is, techniques and procedures gained through these activities, and through actual participation in civic affairs.[7]

A second major problem of importance is the course of study. The multiplicity of courses in Community Civics at the present time seems to indicate that the title may mean "all things to all men". Only when one attempts to review the content of published courses does he begin to realize the diversity of practices. The more conservative courses, despite all the slogans and catchwords of progressive tendencies, are still little more than the old type of civil government, with the machinery and minute details of government presented in sugar-coated terminology and in predigested and diluted form.

The conservative type of course of study seems to be based on the conception that instruction in the informational aspects of trganized political life is essential in order to provide adequate training in citizenship. The approach is made through the study of local political institutions. The point of view is not training *in* citizenship, but training *for* citizenship. Emphasis is placed, not on the study of the development of human and social relations in community life, but rather on the learning of facts about local government; not on the understanding of the obligations and responsibilities of the boys and girls to the group as well as their rights and duties as individuals, but rather the study of simplified and diluted vestiges of the older form of civil government, graded down to the eighth-and ninth-grade levels. Much of the subject matter presented in such courses is not compatible with current

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[7]See Howard C. Hill, "The Teaching of Civics in the Junior High School with Especial Reference to the work in the ninth grade," *Historical Outlook*, XVII (January, 1927), 7-14; W. H. Shephard, "A Program of Group Activities and Community Contacts for the ninth grade," *Ibid.*, 16-18; Ethel Grace Birdus, "Creating Pupil Interest in a Reading Program for Civics," *Ibid.*, 18-20; W. G. Kimmel, "The Use of Graphs in the Teaching of Civics," *Ibid.*, 20-22; Crystal Harford, "Applied Civics," University High School Journal (California), III (October 1923), 193-200.

objectives in Community Civics, nor does it seem to help to interpret current conceptions of well-organized community life.

The chief danger of the political approach to the study of civics is that the untrained and unimaginative teacher frequently chooses the easiest procedure, which results in the memorization of countless details about local government. The classroom work often lacks purpose and motive to both teachers and pupils, unless the passing of tests and examinations is used as a lever to induce monotonous and sometimes meaningless reproduction of facts. The net result is too often a passing grade at the close of the course, a dislike for civics in particular and the social studies in general, and a residue of negative habits developed through lack of purpose and motive in the course. Even competently trained teachers, it is said, often obtain little more in terms of results than information about local government which does not have a direct and immediate relation to the lives of pupils.

A second type of course of study is based primarily on the study of community problems. A certain number of aspects of community life in which there are real or potential situations involving maladjustments are selected for study, and formulated in the form of problems. The conception underlying this type of course seems to be that pupils will respond more readily if the subject matter of the course in civics is presented in the form of problems which should be solved by the community. The problem approach does not seem to take into account the fact that all aspects of community life do not lend themselves readily to formulation in terms of problems. Many of the problems in the usual "problems course" in Community Civics are in reality not problems, but merely stereotyped formulations and juggling of phrases in such a manner as to bear a resemblance to problems. Again, the course organized about a series of problems tends to be limited in scope and confined to subject matter that can be cast in the form of problems. Fundamental institutions are often ignored, or treated incidentally to the study of community problems. Further, some of the problems courses include all the latest "speech-gestures", catch-phrases, ideologies, and slogans of the ubiquitous propaganda organizations. No one will deny the advantages of problem-solving as a technique or educational exercise, but apparently the results in problems courses in Com-

munity Civics often savor of the indoctrination of "magic formulas", which will presumably result in the solution of ever-present community problems, that have not been solved by most communities since the beginning of modern times.

A third type of organization in Community Civics is that based on the study of the local community, with the use of subject matter prepared solely for the use of the particular community. This type of course is usually found only in larger centers of population. There are certain advantages in this plan of organization: the subject matter more closely approximates the experience of the pupils; the approach is made from the known to the unknown; only knowledge which is usable is considered, and a definite basis for activities is provided. On the other hand, a course based on the study of the local community may result in certain difficulties. All the desirable features of community life may not be found in the local community. Again, because of the limitations in community activities and resources, pupils may not have an adequate basis for the evaluation of the activities and agencies of the community. There is also the danger that the course may become merely a recital of the "virtues" of the community, with the resulting dangers of provincialism and the "booster complex". While these difficulties are not inherent in the course of study, in the hands of untrained teachers they present formidable problems.

A fourth type of course in Community Civics is based on the conception that civics includes a study of the institution of which pupils are members, such as the home, the school, the church, and the community. Citizenship in a large measure, according to this type of course, is worthy membership. The ethical conception of citizenship is emphasized. The approach, as in some other types of courses, is developed from the known—the pupils' social environment—to the unknown, that is, the study of the problems and situations in the community environment which tend to promote or to defeat mutual social relations. The study of social institutions, in terms of the pupils' expanding acquaintance with them, may be represented as a series of concentric circles, an idea originally borrowed from German pedagogical thought.

Following the presentation of institutions common to all communities this type of course includes the ways in which the community makes provision for healthful living conditions, for rec-

reation, for the living of orderly and integrated lives in communities reasonably free from awlessness and crime, provides for the handicapped groups, and for the employment of its citizens. The study of these features of community life brings to the attention of pupils many problems and causes of friction between different groups in the provisions made for the utilization of the resources of the community. In the study of problems and causes of friction, pupils come into direct contact with different points of view concerning community problems, the facts assembled by the different groups to support their contentions, and the compromises made by the different groups in their attempts to arrive at equitable and justifiable solutions of community problems. Thus pupils are introduced to the functions of local government, which exist for the purpose of maintaining orderly community relationships, and to that end to deal with the ever-growing and increasingly complex problems of community life.

The course of study based on institutions and concepts, followed by a study of community problems and the place and functions of local government, is posited on the proposition that the proper point of departure is the study of community life, not the machinery of local government; that the approach is to be made through a study of social institutions which are of immediate interest to pupils; that through this introduction pupils tend to gain an understanding of the needs and functions of local government rather than to become lost in a maze of details concerning the local government, about which the average adult knows extremely little. This introduction to community civics eventually introduces pupils to the interesting functions of local government, after a background has been prepared for the study of local government.

The need for and functions of local government follow naturally and logically after the social approach because pupils gain an understanding of the true purposes of local government, namely, the orderly conduct of community life, the prevention of situations which lead to problems inimical to harmonious community relations, the adoption of stringent measures to cope with problems when they arise, the arbitration of conflicts between groups in the community, and the establishment of community controls over

those persons who are unwilling to bear their responsibilities and meet their obligations as members of the community.

The foregoing characterization of different types of courses of study and their implications does not include the names of cities in which the courses are used. These are omitted intentionally because of the criticisms made of certain types. The foregoing evaluations, however, are subjective. There is little available evidence in terms of objective results, to indicate the superiority of a particular type of course. Evaluations are necessarily based on trends in the development of the social-studies program and in terms of the evolving social sciences.

The interesting fact about the historical development of courses of study in civics is that the underlying conceptions of civics which have dominated the courses of study in past, have paralleled the different steps in the evolution of conceptions of citizenship in political science as a field for study and research. The early philosophical conception of citizenship dealt with the theory of the State. It was followed by the analytical and historical conception which was concerned with the evolution of political ideas and political machinery. Later the ethical conception of citizenship has evolved, with emphasis on citizenship as membership in organized community life. The latest conception is primarily psychological in character in that it is concerned with the interaction between the individual and the community,[8] and the methods and techniques used by individuals and organized minority groups in their attempts to gain control and to use the machinery of government to further their own interests. This conception is based on a realistic approach to an understanding of how the mind of the community operates in the consideration of community problems. While the psychological conception of citizenship is now receiving considerable attention at the college level, only the more progressive secondary schools have developed courses which stress the ethical conception of citizenship. Most courses in civics at the secondary-school level, as indicated previously, are still concerned primarily with the analytical and historical conception, with emphasis on the study of minute details of political machinery.

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[8]C. Grant Robertson, "History and Citizenship," *Contemporary Review*, CXXXIII (January, 1928), 54-55.

Trends in the development of courses in community civics, if changes are to follow the trends in political science as has been true in the past, seem to point toward courses based on the ethical and psychological conceptions of citizenship, toward the humanizing of the content used in the courses, and toward training pupils to find, collate, and organize facts rather than to expect the reproduction of facts found in textbooks, in many of which the content is almost as compactly arranged as items in telephone directories.

A third major problem in the teaching of community civics is how to humanize the materials of the course in order to produce desirable responses of educational worth on the part of the pupils? Certain suggestions for the formulation of a program of activities and learning exercises have been indicated earlier in this paper. In general, the activities to be formulated for the civics course include the following types: extensive reading of diversified types of materials which appeal to pupils; written work of diversified types which will enable pupils to register their responses, and thereby furnish clues for teachers on the developing interests and abilities of pupils and their progress in civic training; the compiling, preparation, and use of materials which afford insights into civic relationships; a program of visits and excursions which provide first-hand contacts with civic life; and a program of pupil participation in the social and civic organization of the secondary school.[9] There are many activities which might be mentioned, but all can be classified under the foregoing types.

Current pedagogical literature contains a voluminous list of arguments on the need for activities as an integral part of the civics course. Yet procedures in the classroom often fail to take this important phase of instruction into account, and frequently the actual procedures in instruction are limited to the recitation based on the reproduction of materials found in one textbook. The explanation of the apparent indifference of some teachers of civics to the activities program is largely the result of lack of a technique for the introduction and use of activities. Again, the

[9]See R. W. Hatch, *Training in Citizenship*, (Scribner, 1926), and articles cited earlier in this paper. See also Rollien Dickerson, " 'Community' Civics vs. 'Textbook' Civics, " *High School* (Oregon), I (Dec., 1923), 11-13, 19-22.

activities used in many courses are not diversified in character. Often activities going forward in a class are those which have been found useful under totally different conditions in another school, with little attempt to check up the results attained.

A program of activities is valuable only to the extent that it is usable in the attainment of objectives. Both subject matter and activities are the means to an end—the goals of instruction in civics. One unsolved problem in the use of activities today is how to draw ideas out of activities, that is, the extent to which learning exercises and activities actually function in the civic education of children.

One method of procedure in the formulation of a program of activities is to compile a list of activities from current pedagogical literature, courses of study, textbooks, and other sources. When the list is compiled, arrange the activities according to the units in which they may be used. Test the activities through classroom experience. Supply additional learning exercises and activities in all instances where needed. In order to avoid over-emphasis on certain types of activities, for particular units, make a cross-hatch tabulation of activities, checking each activity against the objectives for the unit. Then formulate activities of the particular types needed to provide a balanced list.

In order that a program of activities may function effectively, it is essential that the classroom be equipped with a well-balanced library, suitable laboratory equipment, and suitable school furniture to enable pupils to move about freely and to work without confusion. The classroom procedure should be of an informal type, with little attention to formal recitations. Emphasis should be placed on study and the completion of learning exercises. The teacher should be a leader and a guide, working with the pupils,—not a "hearer of lessons" or a tester of the reproduction of subject matter.

A final problem in the successful organization and administration of courses in civics is the time allotment needed to provide effective instruction. The time allotment for the course in civics should be one school year if certain implications in this paper are valid, although the time allotment is only one semester in many sections of the country. With a variety of topics and the amount of material available, the semester course tends to become a super-

ficial treatment of a large number of units rather than an intensive study of a smaller number of units. If current objectives in civics are valid, if the newer types of subject matter deserve more attention, if a program of activities shall be an integral part of the course of study, and if current emphasis upon the social-studies as a basic part of the secondary school curriculum is to be put into effect, then it seems to follow that the civics course should be a year course in the ninth grade, or a semester course in both the eighth and ninth grades.

Many of the problems mentioned in this paper with respect to objectives, the organization of the course of study, the program of activities, and time allotment cannot be answered on the basis of available data. Investigations are needed in order that attempts may be made to furnish guidance in meeting the problems set forth. Until such investigations are made and valid results obtained, teachers of civics must rely upon expert opinion, data on the evolution of civics as a study in the schools, and materials found in the formidable collection of pedagogical literature on the teaching of civics. In the meantime, the quality of instruction can be improved by the classroom teacher through emphasis upon the development of habits of study, procedures, and techniques, which are desirable tools required by thoughtful citizens in the gathering of civic information when it is needed. Pupils will respond to social and civic situations, regardless of whether they receive instruction in civics. But the challenge to teachers of civics is to improve their techniques and procedures, to acquire a body of stimulating content materials, in order that they may arouse the interest of pupils in the study of contemporary social and civic life, to develop in pupils objective and wholesome civic attitudes which will not render them susceptible to the influence of the demagogue and the "programs of education" willingly furnished by every new variety of propaganda, and to enable pupils to gain a realization, understanding, and appreciation of social values and standards of conduct which are essential to a wholesome, orderly, and higher type of community life.

W. G. Kimmel

TRAINING CITIZENS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The public school is the official educational institution in each state; its chief purpose is *training for citizenship*. Hopelessly diversified though educators' opinions often are, there seems to be almost universal unanimity in this; viz.—that the chief aim of public education is training for citizenship and that regrettably little of a practical nature can be done to accomplish it. What superintendent has not written inspiringly of this great mission of the public schools in a democracy, but how few have organized school systems and courses of study to permit, if not to accomplish, this mission. What principal but has spoken with feeling regarding this great aim of public education in which lies the hope of the liberties of the future, but how small the number whose supervision of teaching permits, not to say encourages, practical training for citizenship. Perhaps no where in education is there so much sentimentality and incompetency as there is in the training of students for practical citizenship.

Of the many subjects of study in our public schools that help prepare students for intelligent citizenship the one subject which makes this its sole aim is *civics*. Civics was first generally recognized as a separate school subject less than two decades ago. It combined training in morals—then often given in the lower grades under the heading of English—with the bone-dry study of civil government of the upper grades, and announced as its purpose the training of children in citizenship and the breathing of the breath of life into the dry bones of government and politics. (Politics was always dry—in school.) Lacking the dignity of a major subject and often having only the oratorical support of educators, civics has largely become, in the lower grades, a course of stories and precepts on how to be good and, in the upper grades, a study of the personal benefits of government and a series of "Don'ts" for good citizens. Civics as taught, therefore, is *study* about citizenship, not training in citizenship. The good students of civics usually become citizens too good for politics, so they continue to *study* civics the rest of their lives, substituting news-

papers for books upon graduation. Those who fail to fall under the spell of civics as taught usually control our city governments.

Emphasis on civic rather than moral instruction in the lower grades and the substitution of the functions of government for the old study of governmental forms and the meaningless memorization of the United States Constitution has undoubtedly been an improvement in subject matter and method of approach. But, if civics means *training* for citizenship, all the teaching of civics is but preparatory to a course which schools rarely give. After leaving school, however, the practical—if not always good—citizens learn politics for themselves in the rough. Educators make the mistake of considering civics a subject of study like history and geography instead of a study for practice like handwriting, oral English, medicine, and piano playing. A medical student must study from books and listen to innumerable lectures but these do not secure for him his license to practice medicine; he must first actually practice medicine under the supervision of his teachers before he can be trusted to practice it on his own responsibility. Imagine handwriting taught in the elementary school as a subject of study and not as a subject for practice. There is much to be learned in civics but all of it is introductory to true civics, i. e. training for citizenship.

The parallel between handwriting and civics is truer than that between civics and medicine for the child's practice of civics, i. e. his relationships as citizen or member of a group, may begin without the aid of teaching or training, usually by imitation, and the school, not satisfied with the result of the student's unaided effort, frequently metes out punishment in the name of training for citizenship.

The teacher's influence on the child in citizenship training while vital is not the answer to the problem. Even the best teacher cannot sustain her good methods against her superior's bad philosophy or the lack of one. If training for citizenship is the chief purpose of public education, it should be the most important consideration in every phase of public education and in every activity of school and classroom.

In the high school, junior and senior, school citizenship should duplicate adult citizenship, as far as practicable, in order that the training it gives *in school citizenship* may be the best possible

training *for adult citizenship*. Here again educators agree in theory but deviate greatly in practice.

A high school program of training for citizenship should include: (1) the study of problems of community life and the governmental and voluntary agencies interested in their solution, (2) some form of student self-government to give students the opportunity to practice citizenship, politics, and government under supervision, and (3) the absorption of the ideal of citizenship from the "tone" of the school, which tone should be pitched high and strong, not by precept but by the spirit of principal and teachers as manifested in their relations with one another and with the students.

Let us briefly examine current practice regarding these three plans for citizenship training. The first is, as it should be, the backbone of junior high school instruction in civics. Usually, however, it is all instruction and no training and frequently the instruction falls short where it is needed most, e. g.—learning the names of one's representatives in city council, state legislature, and Congress, or learning how to organize an intelligent minority in order to influence an election or to secure desired legislation. Furthermore, civics is given but little time in the curriculum, being a minor subject, and even the small amount of time alloted is sometimes cut down by teachers in order to get more time for history—a major subject of endless possibilities required for admission to college.

Student self-government has so often failed in the hands of incompetent and sentimental schoolmen that the present vogue is to devitalize this device for citizenship training so as to leave for the students all the joys of belonging to "the government" with none of the responsibilities of determining its policies. There is scarcely a high school but that gives scores of students training in the duties of policemen and letter-carriers but comparatively few that give training in the all-but-lost art of active citizenship. With absolute veto power, which he must retain as the responsible head of a group of immature minds, the principal may safely organize his school into a self-governing community in which every student has an active part, provided, he and his teachers really believe it is worth-while to train the potential "stay-at-home" to take an active interest in politics—and like it.

Absorption of the ideal of citizenship from the tone of the school is the most potent means of citizenship training, although the most difficult to control. It may be impossible, in a large, public, secondary school, to generate an atmosphere of spontaneous social control from which students will absorb ideals of personal honor and good citizenship for adult life; but, knowing the tendency of adolescents to adopt surrounding standards and to imitate the attitudes of their elders, it is certainly worth attempting. With students more susceptible to subtle influences than to direct instruction, should principals not recognize the tone of the school to be their greatest asset for attaining education's chief aim? It requires a philosophy.

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*World Book Company.

THE TEACHING OF CIVICS.

We sometimes hear unthinking people express themselves unfavorably toward the subject of history. They may tell us that it is uninteresting and even useless. But we do not hear these same remarks directed against civics, for this subject is felt to be concerned with the immediate surroundings of life—with community conditions that favor or harm our personal growth in many and in varied ways. Its topics are live ones and full of interest to the average wide-awake young person.

Because of the promotion of good citizenship the subject of civics holds a distinguished place in the curriculums of today. The teacher's job is one of teaching present citizens, not of teaching future ones. We must develop in our pupils the recognition that they are citizens, real ones—right now. As they grow older their duties and responsibilities will become greater, but these obligations will be no more real than they are today.

In our junior high schools civics teaching is, more and more, coming to be direct training in citizenship. All civic instruction that does not result in the right kind of civic action is failure. Interest is there; it exists in the pupils. There is need that teachers direct this interest toward effort and service. On the first day of school, on entering the community civics class, the pupils should be given a perspective of the course with the interesting topics offered. At the very beginning the pupils should be impressed with the appeal of the subject to each of them personally. There are immense possibilities when we make good use of our opportunities and give significance to the subject by connecting it with the daily life of the pupils.

Not so many years ago civil government was taught methodically, logically and exclusively in the upper grades, and the school then supposed that it had done its part—the pupils had been informed. But this old plan was found wanting, it did not function in the pupil's life. We now believe that the study of civics should result in correct behavior and not in information only. The good teacher will awaken in her pupils the desire to perform their daily tasks. She will see that they have the knowledge and

skill necessary to carry out their wishes successfully and she will help them to develop the will-power that will lead to right action. Their readiness or reluctance to assume responsibility, their willingness or disinclination to co-operate, their entire behavior will indicate the success or failure of her teaching.

A conception that makes correct behavior rather than information the end of Civics teaching will enhance the value of school activities outside of the class-room. civics training is a continuous process; in school and out of school; in the civics class room and in every class room; in the corridors and in the lunch room; on the athletic field and in the shops. The quality of good citizenship behavior is inherent in the whole curriculum. Every activity of the school will contribute to the promotion of good citizenship if we teachers will but keep that in mind and so organize the work that our pupils may have an opportunity for assuming responsibility.

When we teachers have the conscious purpose before us of making better citizens by developing responsible behavior on the part of the pupils—be it through the medium of a recitation in geography, or the writing of a composition, or the reading of a selection in literature, or throuogh the baking of a loaf of bread, or the making of a dress, or the construction of a towel-rack, or the solution of any problem,—then we are realizing the responsibility that is ours. In a certain junior school that I know, at the various group meetings the teachers have been urged to stress and to work to put across "pupil responsibility". If teachers consciously strive to this end, in whatever subject they teach, are they not attempting to develop the ideals of citizenship?

The results of this work, however, cannot be measured by a yard stick or weighed with a pair of scales, and therefore one is at times rather disheartened. Our pupils are sometimes like the Greeks in the story that Petrarch tells. Probably this story is old to some of you, but I should like to retell it. An old Greek attended the Olympic Games. He was late in arriving and found it difficult to find a seat in that crowded amphitheatre. He was old and poorly dressed. The Greeks jeered and poked fun at him as he passed from group to group vainly looking for a seat. At last he came to the Spartans, who rose as one man and made room for him. On observing this action the spectators broke into

applause, whereupon the old man observed: "All the Greeks know what it is good to do, but the Spartans practice it".

Let us, in our work, give a good measure of ourselves, indeed, extra measure, running over—so that our pupils may receive the right kind of training in citizenship,—that through our efforts and by our example they may know not only what to do but that they may also do it. As far as possible let us prevent conditions arising that will cause pupils to squander their precious time and their valuable opportunities.

We are told by Dr. Cox that the moral tone of the school room and of the playing field has been kept on a level higher than that maintained by the community at large. This leads to the question that the teacher who wishes to give the greatest service possible to the community asks herself: "How can I, as a teacher, best serve boys and girls so that when they pass on from school they will take an active part in the work of the community and through their behavior help raise it to a desirable level?"

LORA B. JAHN.

"Cultivators of the earth are the most valuable citizens. They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous, and they are tied to their country, and wedded to its liberty and interests, by the most lasting bonds."

Such was the opinion of Thomas Jefferson who, more than a century ago, expressed the hope that America might remain permanently a land of farmers. But it was destined to be otherwise, and from Jefferson's day to the present the social-economic position of the American farmer has become anything but an enviable one. In fact, for the last seventy-five years agrarian discontent in this country has been almost continuous, as manifested by the Granger and Greenback movements of the seventies, the Populist movement of the nineties and the Non-Partisan and Agricultural farm-Bloc movements of the twentieth century. Indeed, during the last eight years the farmers of the United States have operated at a loss of billions of dollars annually; many of them have been bankrupted; thousands, together with their families, utterly disheartened, have turned from the farm to the city. Even worse, many farmers who remained on the land have been unable to maintain its fertility or to keep up the necessary equipment of livestock, buildings, fences and machinery.

Why this plight of the farmer?

In the first place, he suffers from backward technique. He operates, relatively speaking, on a small scale in a world where, for the most part, a large scale industrial system prevails. Consequently he is unable to take advantage of the economies and efficiencies which large scale business organizations have learned to adopt. Everything that he buys, for example, is purchased in small quantities. In like manner, he usually markets his commodities in small amounts. Those who buy his products are, nine times out of ten, representatives of organizations far larger and more powerful than any the farmer has, with the possible exception of some farm cooperatives. Bargaining on this basis is naturally disadvantageous to the weaker party. Moreover, we

should bear in mind that the farmer is practically compelled to take what he is offered or hold his goods. With taxes, doctors' bills, interest on his mortgage, and bills for his grass seed, fertilizer and whatever new machinery he may have acquired, coming due, holding is next to impossible. Frequently, too, the farmer does not have adequate facilities for storage; and actual investigation over a period of years shows that very little of the annual crop of the country remains in the farmer's possession for more than a month or two.

The farmer, unlike the industrialist, is as a rule unable to accommodate himself to business fluctuations. His ratio of overhead to operating costs in comparison with other business is, for example, very high. This fact makes for inflexibility and renders the farmer peculiarly liable to losses from general price changes. If investments in overhead have been made at high prices and if prices substantially fall, the income from the investment is frequently too small to meet the charges. This fact accounts in large part for the depression following the World War. During the flush years the farmer invested in overhead at top prices on the assumption that there would be no decline. When prices rise the farmer gains, but his gains in a rising market are more than offset by the losses incurred when the business cycle swings downward. This is because he is operating in a system in which the non-farmer is much freer than himself to make accommodations to market changes. Take the item of retrenchment, for instance: often the farmer's crops are planted before farm prices begin to fall and, as a result, he finds his money income decreased. The manufacturer, on the other hand, is in a position to cut down his production by purchasing fewer raw material,s reducing wages and the like.

Closely related to the problem of overhead and retrenchment is the question of turnover. The farmer's turnovers are comparatively slow. An investment in productive equipment, once made, is a commitment for a considerable period during which accommodations to changing price levels cannot be made. Most crops represent at best one turnover a year; animals from one to six years; an apple orchard from ten to thirty years, and a barn from twenty-five to forty years. Merchants and manufacturers have a chance to dispose of their stocks and to obtain a new supply at new price levels much more frequently than does the farmer.

The house of Wanamaker or Macy, for example, have a stock turnover four to six times a year. Even the village or small city merchant is vastly better off in this respect than is the farmer.

A high ratio of overhead to operating costs, together with slow turn-overs, makes for disadvantage when prices are falling, simply because investment has been made in equipment and in materials which must be used for a long time at such high prices that the products made from and with them will not return a profit. When these facts are taken into consideration in conjunction with the farmer's disadvantages in bargaining, it is easy to comprehend why he is a loser when prices shift downward. Every swing of the business cycle leaves the farmer worse off than he was before.

Overproduction also contributes to the farmer's difficulties. Economists and others familiar with the problem are practically unanimous in the opinion that instability of market levels and ruinous drops in price cannot be prevented unless some method is devised to handle the surplus. As a general rule the production of staple crops is geared to a demand which is fairly inelastic. Frequently, however, winds, droughts, floods and insect pests, such as the boll-weevil and corn-borer, and other pests and diseases make the accurate adjustment of the production of agriculture to estimated demand an utter impossibility. In 1920, for example, the corn acreage of the United States of approximately 101,000,000 acres produced at the rate of 315 bushels per acre; in 1924 the same acreage yielded only 22.9 bushels. The average cotton acreage for 1921-1924 was 35,000,000 acres. The 1921 yield was 124.5 pounds per acre; in 1924, 156.8 pounds. The 52,000,000 acres of wheat which produced an average of 16.5 bushels per acre in 1924 yielded only 12.8 bushels per acre in 1925. Similar variations occurred in other crops, due not to acreage variation but to forces over which the farmer had little or no control.

Combined with these periodic surpluses caused by natural forces is a chronic surplus arising from the fact that agriculture in the United States is organized on an export basis. We are, to an extent, a raw material exporting country. While this condition prevails the prices of our raw materials and agricultural products will continue to be fixed in world rather than in domestic markets.

The price of wheat, for example, is not determined in the United States but in Liverpool.

Transportation has long been a source of discontent as far as the farmer is concerned, and while the situation is markedly better than it was before the days of the Interstate Commerce Commission, it is as yet by no means entirely satisfactory. This is largely because freight rates are not responsive to the business cycle. In other words, freight rates do not follow the business cycle nor are they adjusted to meet the various changes in commodity prices. Consequently, the farmer's freight rates are the same irrespective of the price he receives for his commodities. In times of depression when freight rates are disproportionately high he suffers greatly. The farmer as well as other producers would be bettered if the rate structure could be adjusted to business conditions, allowing for retrenchments to be made in highly prosperous times against the strain of depression.

Throughout the entire history of the nation the farmer has complained about the inadequacy and inelasticity of currency and credit and their control by the Money Power. The Populists in their St. Louis platform, to cite a single instance, declared that the country was "in the grasp of a gigantic, cold-blooded money trust". Since that time great steps forward have been taken to extend credit facilities to the farmer. The Federal Farm Loan System, the Federal Reserve System, and the Intermediate Credits System can serve him, but to date the government has made little or no effort to bring the farmer in contact with these agencies. The farmer knows little or nothing about them and consequently depends, as of old, upon personal credit agencies with the result that his interest charges are often exhorbitant. The situation is intensified by the fact that free funds normally flow to those industries which yield the largest financial return, and farming is not included among them.

Any one who analyzes the farmer's difficulties soon discovers that the farmer is, in the long run, victimized by high tariffs. While there may be some truth in the hoary argument that tariffs, by affording protection to the manufacturer aid the farmer by developing the home market, such aid is more than offset by the increased cost to the farmer of the manufactured goods he must buy. Moreover, high tariff, by restricting the importation of

foreign made goods, tends to restrict the farmer's market. Without high tariff we would undoubtedly import many manufactured goods which are now made in the United States, giving in exchange raw materials and agricultural produce.

The farmer also feels that he bears a disproportionate share of the tax burden. Federal taxes, which are decreasing, are largely met by industrial interests; while local taxes, which are increasing, fall for the most part upon the farmer. Particularly is this true of those states where agriculture is the principal occupation. Unfortunately the farmer's taxes are determined not on the basis of production but upon an arbitrary value set upon his land by assessors. While an attempt is made to approximate the market value of the property, it is often undervalued or overvalued. So long as the farmer's taxes are determined on the basis of assessed valuation rather than on production he will continue to pay more tax in proportion than the industrialist. The Federal Government could materially lighten the farmer's tax load by extending more aid to such public improvements as roads and rural schools which at present are supported almost entirely by local taxation.

Why, some people ask, should we concern ourselves about the agricultural situation?

First of all, farmers and their families still make up about thirty million of our population. Any sustained economic impairment of this rural population is bound to unbalance and perhaps seriously affect the whole population. Every branch of industry, for example, depends upon the farmer for food and, in some instances, for many raw materials. Then, too, if the farmer receives only a low income he is unable to buy the products of industry. Economists and others have estimated that the minimum cash income which every farmer should receive if he is to keep up his property and feed, clothe and educate his children is $2,000. Today the average is only $800. There can be but one result: poverty and rundown farms. Modern sanitary conveniences, a balanced diet, educational advantages, amusements, opportunities for cultivating the artistic side of life, and a dozen and one other items in what should constitute a decent standard of life, are of necessity largely ruled out. Thus both the farmer and the industrialist and, indirectly, all classes of society, suffer loss.

Since 1865 the Federal Government has been dominated by industrial, financial and commercial interests; bourgeois rather than agrarian ideals have prevailed. From press, platform and pulpit as well as from educational institutions the ideals of big business have emanated much as did those of king and nobility from Versailles in the days of the *ancien regime.*

The greatest of all ideals has been business success and the hero has been the man who has made millions. Prosperity has been the by-word and it has increasingly tended to color the social, economic, intellectual and political ideals of the vast majority of the people of the United States. If business prospered, its prosperity would in turn trickle down on the masses beneath. Few in the past have understood the farmer's troubles and when he complained he was frowned upon as a chronic grumbler and a crank who because of poor management did not get on in the world.

From what has been said, however, it must be apparent that poor management does not tell the complete story and that it is not the crux of the farm problem. That more enlightened business men realize this is evident from the following excerpts from the concluding chapter of a lengthy and sympathetic report of a committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States entitled *The Condition of Agriculture in the United States and Measures for Its Improvement:*

> Agriculture is not merely a way of making money by raising crops; it is not merely an industry or a business; it is essentially a public function or service performed by private individuals for the care and use of the land in the national interest, and farmers in the course of their pursuit of a living and a private profit are the custodians of the basis of the national life. Agriculture is therefore affected with a clear and unquestionable public interest, and its status is a matter of national concern calling for deliberate and far-sighted national policies, not only to conserve the natural and human resources involved in it, but to provide for the national security, promote a well-rounded prosperity, and secure social and political stability.
>
> Agriculture in this country appears to be subject to certain deep-lying ills which time alone cannot safely be relied upon to cure but may even accentuate. There is evidence ,for instance, that real as well as money costs in

the industry are rising; that we are not keeping our old superiority over competitors; that the fertility of the land is being impaired; that erosion is insidiously and constantly carrying away a layer of irreplaceable surface soil not only from the hillsides but over practically the whole area devoted to plowed crops; that many, if not most, farmers are year after year failing to secure a return equivalent to that which can be obtained in the city by workers of no greater ability; that the comparative advantage of other industries is rapidly increasing; that the obstacles to the extension of markets for farm products are growing more effective; that the difficulties of improving the organization and methods of agriculture are increasing; that the year by year fluctuations in the prices of farm commodities are growing ever more severe and are increasing the hazard under which the farmer carries on his occupation; that tenancy is increasing; and that the quality of the farm population is undergoing a progressive deterioration.

In the face of such conditions it is obvious that we are confronted with a problem very different in character than would be the case if the agricultural situation were a reflection merely of a temporary depression due to the war. These deep-lying ills and permanently operating adverse forces evidently *can not safely be left to the mere self-adjustment* of the economic life but imperatively demand the formulation of a continuous, far-sighted national policy toward agriculture which shall be expressed not only in terms of cooperation among all important economic groups in the nation, but also in terms of carefully planned governmental measures.

In respect to its productive methods and business organization American agriculture is on the threshold of fundamental changes, the effects of which are difficult to foresee but are likely to be profound and far-reaching. The application to agriculture of new forms of power and machinery, of modern forms of business organization and of specialized technical knowledge and managerial ability, all of which have long been at work in industry, trade, and finance, is just beginning. Whether these changes will be effective in removing the competitive disadvantages under which agriculture labors, and how they will affect the fundamental characteristics of agriculture as an industry, a business, and a way of life of a large part of our people, is the great question of the future. It seems likely that they will lead to a large increase in agricultural production; to a great reduction of the amount of human

labor per unit of output; to the increased elimination of workers in agriculture; to an increase in the size of farms; to a tendency toward corporate forms of organization; to the development of farming as a more highly organized and specialized profession, attracting men of exceptional scientific equipment and business ability; to changes in the regional distribution of agriculture; and to the development of new types of agricultural products and of new uses for existing products. In all these processes of change, however, it should be remembered that the capacity of successful self-adjustment in agriculture is limited by the fact that it is inherently subject to exceptional hazards in its productive and marketing processes and is fundamentally dominated by natural conditions that limit the forms of producing unit to which it is economically adaptable, the extent of economic reduction of its costs, and the flexibility of its adjustment to rapidly changing conditions.

Finally, whatever the directions which our future agricultural development may take, and however successfully agriculture may adapt itself to the changes that are impending from a purely economic point of view, the tremendous significance of the social aspects of the problems involved must not be lost sight of in determining the aim in agricultural policies. Agriculture embraces about a quarter of the American people and in the past it has connoted a type of citizen, an attitude of mind and a way of life, all of which have been of the highest importance to the social and political welfare of the nation. The process of attrition which has been going on in our agriculture, the constant draining away of our farm population to the cities and the further changes that may take place through industrialization of our agriculture in the future, are matters about which we may well feel deep concern and which call for the earnest application of constructive statesmanship. Such statesmanship must take thought of the place agriculture is to occupy in the nation's future economy, of the relation between urban and rural populations, of the type of civilization we should hope to develop and of the conservation and wisest use of the basic national land resources. Our national policies in respect to industry, trade and international relations, as well as in respect to agriculture itself, all have a profound bearing upon these questions. The aim in agricultural policies, therefore, should have in view such improvement in the economic position of the farmer as is consistent with the wisest

utilization of our land resources and the development of types of farmers and forms of rural life which will make not only for greater farm prosperity, but for the long-time social and political welfare of the nation as a whole.

A sound national agricultural policy conceived in this way cannot rest upon governmental action alone but requires the active participation and cooperation of farmers and their organizations, of the other great economic groups, and of the local, state and federal governments as the guardians of the interests of the community. The formulation of such a policy, and the building up of agencies and methods by which it may be expressed in concrete terms, will require a long period of time, for it must be the product of gradual accumulation of experience and knowledge and cannot be expected to spring complete and perfect from the brain of any individual or group.

The foregoing excerpts need no elaboration; they admirably summarize the problems which confront the American farmer today and succinctly indicate what the American people may expect if these problems are permitted to remain unsolved. The United States stands today where England stood a century ago; either we must find an adequate solution for our farm problems or else make up our minds that the United States, like England, is increasingly to become an urbanized-industrialized nation.

HARRY J. CARMAN.

THE PATRIOTIC THESIS

At a time of unusual confusion and uncertainty in the world of education, and especially of energetic denial and assertion in the field of the social studies, teachers and administrators in charge of the training of the next generation may well give time to taking stock of achievement and aspiration, of program and criticism. They who formerly accepted as a matter of course the traditional program of teaching what passed for American history, with at least a smattering of "European background"—a phrase eloquent of American self-centeredness—with some civics and of late some elementary economics and sociology, have been told bluntly either that they were teaching the wrong thing, or that what they taught produced no appreciable results. The public school system, of late years saddled with responsibility for the domestic, social, and ethical education formerly given within the home and the church, has been likewise charged with producing the current slump in popular morals and even the recurring crime waves that fill the newspapers. For years the social studies have been taught with the avowed purpose of producing "social efficiency", of making the nation a better nation in which to live; in short, they have been taught on a patriotic thesis. Educators are now faced with two questions. Is the patriotic thesis justifiable? If so, what are its principles?

The destructive criticism of things formerly taken for granted begins with a new attitude toward nationalism—that nationalism so lately born into a world of constant change that some of its advocates are still at its effervescent caudle-party even as the eager out-runners of progress make preparations for its wake. The object of social efficiency is being challenged by an army of vociferous individualists who prate early and late of personal liberty and the despotism of majorities—or of minorities, according to the visible numbers of their opponents. Even the objective of character-building is questioned. What sort of character ought a nation to encourage in its people? Is not this character building a form of propagandism? Has any nation the right to meddle with the individual character-tendencies of its citizens?

The thriller press may be depended upon, in the lucid intervals between murders and divorce scandals, regularly to ring the changes on that dependable old theme, Does Education Educate?

The low mentality of a citizenry at least nominally exposed to public education, the abuses of democracy, the prevailing immorality of public and private life—all these are patent to him who runs. And all these are, it is inferred, largely the result of failures in the public school system, and especially the result of a mistaken teaching of the social studies. Now the public school system is above all other institutions the expression of the basic American social philosophy, which premises the right and duty of man to participate in his own government, and consistently prescribes the machinery of preparation and conditioning for that participation. Pending the realization of an adequately educated citizenry, American faith has assumed that the people have intelligence enough for present needs, and has put the democratic theory into practice. Either the results justified this course in the past, or the nation was not sufficiently critical to know its failure. But today we have criticism in plenty from without and from within, and thoughtful folk must either acknowledge the failure of democracy and start anew on another tack, or else prove the alleged failure no failure and justify further faith and practice therein.

Among teachers one finds in miniature the world without: the sleek and sleepy optimists, who do not know that the wind has changed; the dangerously up-to-date who follow every wind of doctrine and adopt a fashionable pessimism; and those who set themselves to examine the fashion, analyze its causes, evaluate its effects, accept its constructive phases and reject its fallacious grounds and its mistaken conclusions. Among the latter only are those who can then proceed to formulate and to build upon such beliefs and principles, patriotic or otherwise, as will give depth and sincerity to teaching and administration, justify the effort and cost involved, and produce appreciable and desirable results. This paper is an attempt to analyze at least partly the present fashion of cynicism as to the traditional American ends and ideals in education and in life; and to formulate at least some of the bases upon which the great experiment of public education, centering as it now does in the social studies, has been and may be built. No one person may

presume to do this with authority for the body of educators; but any one person may with profit call attention to the necessity of thought upon the subject, and offer a tentative answer to the volume of question and denial that fills the air.[1]

At least four sources of the prevailing doubt appear, although it is hard to distinguish the separate sources of any one destructive onslaught. Much of it rises from the legitimate change in thinking wrought by new discoveries in science, history, economic theory, and Biblical criticism. The shifting of the props to belief to which people have grown used brings doubt also of the whole structure with which they are associated. The struggle between the Fundamentalists and Modernists in religion is a case in point; the puzzled and indignant reaction of the good patriot who suddenly discovers that George Washington was not a plaster saint is another. The trouble is a result of bad education in this respect, that it comes from concrete thinking never generalized into abstractions; from symbols habitually substituted for reality. The good patriot reveres Washington as the quintessence of those virtues and achievements for which, like an army of other faulty but sincere and aspiring men, he gave what he had to give. This maladjustment in judgment is as old as changing belief and progress, and as widespread as arrested mental development—that is, it is universal in both time and space. It is strikingly prevalent now because of the rapid rate of change in thought, and because of the comparatively wide diffusion of knowledge. No more hopeful aspect of religious thought has appeared in years than the Fundamentalist movement, absolutely mistaken though it must prove to be; for never has a better proof of the depth of the roots with which religious faith strikes into man's being, or the reality of the permeation of public education into the lives of the

[1]This is written at a time when individual thought is far below par; when the validity of a statement depends in the popular mind upon the number of names appended to it, or the official standing of the group charged with voicing opinion. The attitude is a logical result of the quantitative inductive method of reaching conclusions, a corollary of the experimental character of current truth-seeking. It belongs to our day as characteristically as the contribution of the lone thinker belonged to medieval times. In neither case is the atypical method invalid because it is not usual. Teachers who want to hold their barks firm amid a tempest of conflicting opinion need both varieties of help.

people, come to public attention. Even as men are sincere in their thinking will they fight for their convictions. Only when men pass by on the other side as new ideas appear, need the thoughtful man despair of the Republic.

Not only does the remaking of man's conception of the world he lives in go on at an astonishing rate, but this tremendous shifting of ideas comes to America simultaneously with the maturing of the national mind. "The youth of America is its oldest tradition" said Oscar Wilde very wisely many years ago. Today he might remark that the tradition had almost become a legend, so markedly has the expressed attitude changed. Even today there is more of freshness and naivete in the attitude of the average American than is to be found in the least sophisticated European. But at the same time, it can not be denied that the thinking part of the population is become self-critical, introspective, to a certain degree impersonal. The first skimming of national resources is over; the accumulated wealth of the country permits leisure for study; and the eight or ten generations that lie back of the present representatives of the oldest stock, have given a ripeness to its culture and a confidence to its judgment not to be outdone in any country. That American mind of which Americans become aware when they meet its worn opposite in the Old World, that child-like, erratic, inconsistent, idealistic and dynamic mind which amuses and puzzles Europeans—that American mind is still to be found in plenty, but it has ceased to be the typical mind of the educated classes. That mentality was the product of a reaction against sophistication in the first place. Now a newer sophistication demands a logical basis for what the founders once matured from a sad experience of the failure of European methods and theories, and their sons accepted for purely pragmatic reasons—it worked in a new country. The country has ceased to be new; it has grown up, and the minds of its children begin to grow up with it. That more mature mind must naturally, inevitably and righteously question its tradition to know if what were once justifications are justifications now.

Side by side with these legitimate and healthful questionings is a challenge of a quite different sort. It is mainly European in origin, finding its American centers in the large cities, and its rostrum in the popular magazines. Some of its proponents are

immigrants or the descendents of recent immigrants, who having come to America to realize whatever Utopian ambitions they may have had, have found themselves in what was to them a strange and unfriendly place, in which they were people of small importance. If they come in small numbers and are scattered among the native stock, such immigrants are either re-made in two or three generations into the prevailing social and economic type, or they sink into failure and obscurity. But if they come in large groups and form islands of Old World life, they give each other mutual support and develop a protesting propaganda. Unable to understand the American point of view, perhaps never even encountering it at close range, they do realize that it opposes their own desires and declare it false, impossible, or ridiculous, or all of those things. They are articulate or even eloquent, for they have had public school training in the second generation and they add the conviction of interest to that of tradition. Such people come to America to find, not a world re-made, but one in which they may enjoy the fruits of a redistribution of favors impossible in their old homes. They find instead an America cut and making in a strange new fashion which they do not understand; and no one pays any very respectful attention to their sartorial suggestions. Therefore they propose to cut up and throw away the material and substitute stuff and patterns of their own. But to do this, they must first convince the native tailor, who still owns and runs the shop, that his garment is out of style, will not wear, and will make its owner a laughing stock among the nations.

The foreign critics—foreign whether they live in America or somewhere else, if their thought is foreign to American thought because its premises are different—are reinforced by imitative criticism, or more often imitative ridicule, from certain Americans. That American whose European experience has given him nothing but an inferiority complex hastens to say first what he knows his Old World model is going to say in a minute, and thus acquires a sense of equality which is balm to his distressed soul. Such people, lacking the mental ability to judge by permanent and universal criteria, applicable to any people in any time, generalize by geographical areas and condemn by political units. They dogmatize with all the cerebral acumen displayed by Europeans who know that all Americans chew gum, wear standardized clothes,

and talk through their noses. Sensitive because they have no such knowledge of the Old World as would teach them that America's mistakes and crudenesses are made universally by individuals and by peoples climbing to a higher status, these pathetic deprecants hope by hasty denunciation of Americanisms to win exemption from what they imagine to be the discriminating condemnation of their superiors. All of Christopher North's younger brethren deserve pity, but these most of all should have our charity; for because they fail to see that America can never be judged by purely European standards, but is a new land built upon different principles, they lose their birthright among their own people. For them, the patriotic thesis is ridiculous, and all who adopt it are fools.

And in addition to all this criticism, good and bad, comes that springing from the hysteria or the disillusionment of war. A great flood of the cynicism inseparable from war has seeped into the thought of all nations, our own among them, in the last fifteen years. War must always warp and retard the normal processes of social growth and changing relationship, and it must always throw out of kelter the usual sequences of cause and effect. This confuses people and often brings about impatient fault-finding.

The thoughtful citizen's attitude toward current criticism, savage and cynical or sane and constructive, depends partly on how accurately he can separate what he hears into that which should be dismissed as counterfeit and unworthy, and what must be considered in making a program. Men are not worried by doubt as to the treatment accorded criticism, once the motives and bases and values of it can be established. No intelligent person worries about the constant normal changes wrought by the discovery of new truth. No one whose vision has been enlarged by the wonders of a world made new by science, fears whatever disclosures may be yet to come. Especially, they who teach know that it is their chief business to show and to develop not only fearlessness before truth, but such a love for it that discoverers may be supported by appreciative audiences, which honor the finder and acclaim the event. They who believe have no cause for fear; it is only the timid who want their faith laid away in cotton-wool. In the teacher's creed it is written that there is no tenet, no ideal, no practice in American life that should or can in the end,

escape question or evade the necessity of justification. If that we do, be false, then in the long run it must go, be it written in the Constitution; if it be right, it should be defended and supported here and now, not left to the slow justification of time. And equally, good things borrowed from other peoples but useful in America, it is the teacher's privilege to introduce to American thought and adoption. Not for teachers is the childish panoply of nationalism, of smug repetitions of what were once courageous slogans, of personal ineffectiveness cloaked under the boast of ancestral deeds. For teachers there can be but one course: to teach the truth without fear or favor, and to point the way to action needed now.

In the failure to teach the truth lie more pitfalls than can ever be entirely filled up by those who follow after. Let those who look forward reflect, for instance, on the inevitable result of the present ill-advised Lincoln-worship. Abraham Lincoln was a good and great man, who did his work sincerely and earnestly, made mistakes, sometimes failed to be all that he might have been. He was not a superman, not a saint, not a race redeemer little less than divine, not the one man in all the world who could have said the word that freed the black folk of America. But in many places, including some schools, the citizens of this country are receiving the impression that Lincoln was a man approaching Christ Himself in the perfection of his character and the transcendent nature of his work. The result of such a falsification of values is a hero-worship that must lead some day to confusion and trouble. The inability to think great virtues and heroic qualities in a body of men, as the inspiration of a social movement, is probably the cause of this easy centralization of admiration in one man. It is easier to conceive George Washington a superman, than to think gratefully of a mob of ragged idealists who gambled all they had on a desperate throw to win independence. It is easier to imagine a halo about the rugged head of Lincoln, than to think of all the ways in which men need to be freed today.

Sound and legitimate criticism of American life is therefore part and parcel of the teacher's creed and work. The mass of smart-aleck, imitative, peevish, petulent fault-finding may be dismissed with the contempt it deserves. There remains still, much that is difficult to judge. Obviously it is not sound unless it give evidence

of being based on an intelligent understanding of American thought, ends, institutions, methods; in short of that national folk-philosophy that this nation, in common with every other, does possess. Much of the captious criticism hurled at American life is not only aimed at superficial things, but it fails to show any slightest understanding of the aims and processes of the people it assails. This is of course especially true of those who have never lived in America, but dwell constantly and exclusively in the foreign life of New York or in Europe. Again, much of this criticism deals with a very small part of the factors which actually enter into the situation. An example is the novels of certain popular writers, seemingly completely and complacently unconscious of at least half the forces that make up the life of any American village or social group. The absence of scientific method invalidates much criticism which finds wide publicity; indeed its wide publicity is the result of simplicity and clarity of treatment, of a partial and therefore comprehensible view of what is actually a very complex thing. Such criticism may achieve artistic merit, but its nature shuts out any serious consideration of it as sociological or historical data.

In the third place, criticism is to be tested by the way in which it agrees or runs counter to the general current of human thought. Those who study history are fortunate in this, that they win a Long Look at civilization; they overcome at least part of that mental myopia which warps the conclusions of the cock-sure man who looks at things "as they are". The student of history asks then of his critic, Is your standard the standard shown us by race criticism? Does your program accord with that set down in the masterpiece of mankind, the *Sic et Non* of human experience, written sentence by sentence, page by page, as Man in his successive generations sets down—

> This I have tried—
> This I have rejected—
> And this found good?

Happy the leader who sees through the veil of events that epic thing, and can say of his program—"This you must do sooner or later; in the Volume of the Book it is written."

An example of working against the current is to be found in any period in abundance, in the age-long conflict between social control and individualism. Individualism becomes increasingly impractical as it grows daily less profitable to mankind; and yet any number of would-be wise men may be found, at any period in history that one cares to examine, who try busily to convince men that they should have less social control and more individual freedom. Individual freedom was the treasure of the cave-man and social control the keynote of whatever progress men have been able to make; which does not prevent the wise prating of a host of advisors who want to accept all the good results of social co-operation and control, except that particular one which inhibits the sort of personal freedom they personally want. He who tries to judge impartially knows that the hands of the clock are not turned back; that unless the criticism of a man or a school agrees in general with the criticism of the human race, expressed in action and opinion over long periods of time, that criticism must fall with the outworn thing it defends.

No man has yet found a cure for war mania or its abnormal poisons. The world at least partially recovers in time from war; presumably the world will recover from the toxins that today twist its thought awry. Health comes back slowly after so terrible a disease, and wise men turn their thoughts chiefly toward-war prevention, which is possible, rather than to cure, which is imperfect and slow. It is important for our purpose only that war evils be recognized as such—for instance, that much of the exaggerated fear of radicalism which has lately led in many countries to great injustice, be known as a war poison and not considered a normal part of man's thinking.

All that has been said above is for the purpose of clearing the decks. He who tries the patriotic thesis as a basis for teaching the social studies, must first rid himself of the consideration of a huge mass of criticism which declares that the whole fabric of a distinctive American philosophy is "bunk", because he finds that much of that criticism is ill-based, childish, and fallacious. He must as sternly reject a spurious nationalism that parades as love of country, and with it provincialism and hatred of out-landers, and all that bumptiousness, rudeness, arrogance and intolerance that nationalism breeds. With all these falsehoods out of the way,

despair of the Republic disappears as well, and healthy and constructive thought has a chance.

The patriotic thesis has had an honorable history, especially in connection with the public school. Not without that appeal to the creative nationalism that appeared after the Revolution and grew through the nineteenth century, could the American people have been induced so generously to provide for a free public school system. It is a distinct corollary of nationalism itself, that citizens shall be given an adequate training at public expense, that the nation may exist unashamed and undefeated before the world. But behind this a deeper and wider Americanism appears, having a home and people for its object, an ideal implicit in the term New World. There were not wanting when our nation was founded, as there are not wanting today, those who realize that a political unit of any sort is a machine for accomplishing a social condition, not an object of veneration in itself. It is significant that no one ever seriously thought of calling this people United Statesers; they have always been Americans, unconsciously proving some wider allegiance than that of their political federation, an allegiance independent of politics and yet eloquent of situation.

Perhaps no two students of our social history would select just the same things as most fundamental and germain to American self-realization. But probably any fairly homogeneous group having in common some knowledge of the roots of our culture, could agree on a short list of principles which have from the beginning deeply influenced that largely unconscious folk philosophy which shapes the destiny of nations. The formulation that follows is an attempt based on the study of American social history, to state certain bases upon which action and construction have been premised in the past,and which seem now to affect the teaching of the social studies in the public schools.

I. Social welfare, most consciously in the community unit, rather than individual satisfaction has always been the criterion of desirability in American life. From the beginning, when the signers of the Mayflower Compact agreed to give "submission and obedience to all such ordinances as the general good of the colony might require from time to time", group welfare has been the prime consideration in making public policies. There has been repeated exploitation of the people and of their common

wealth in the interests of a few, but this has necessarily been accomplished under cover of public good, often loudly acclaimed. The timber cutter and the railroad builder talked of developing the public domain, and so won approbation and a free hand for their operations; the spirit of community unity is so strong in America that enterprises good or bad must claim to contribute to the common weal in order to win public approval and support.

Now since this public spirit is a dominant but not a universal thing, from the first the socially-minded majority has subscribed to a sentiment for social control as a means to the common good. This sentiment has lived and grown in spite of the fact that each new application has had to be won by hard fighting. The struggles for compulsory school attendance and for compulsory medical and dental care are cases in point. Society no sooner accepts, after a course of education and enforcement, one aspect of social control than new ones, proposed by the more advanced leaders, bring on new struggles. Sometimes unreasonable degrees or objects of social control are proposed; never is any proposal made that is not called unreasonable by its opponents. With all the delays and adjustments inevitable to progress, this principle has steadily gained ground since the founding of the colonies.

Training in ethics was formerly considered implicit in the acceptance of social welfare as an end. Because the ethical standard of each individual affects the whole range of his social relationships, that standard was in a way public business. Of recent years there has been a widespread reaction against ethical training and social control of conduct, as infringements of personal liberty. Now one observes a reaction against the reaction, and a feeling that the removal of restrictions has been responsible for that slump in taste and morals which America suffers with the rest of the world. The social heresy that a human being may do as he wills with his own life and order his movements to suit himself, has so permeated formal and informal education in America, that we are confronted today with two generations—the middle-aged and the youthful—largely indifferent to any just claim upon them by the world they live in. Such an indifference is contrary to the American tradition, illustrated throughout our social history in every grade of political and social unit, by conditions achieved through the sacrifice of selfish ends to the common good.

II. Opposed to this typical group action in the social field, is the American recipe in the economic field. Here the rule has been one of individual initiative and responsibility, premised on equality of opportunity. The national contempt for shiftlessness and the national respect for economic self-sufficiency are due to the fact that ability and energy were for so long the almost sole condition of material success. Communism can never flourish in America while there endures the folk feeling that rewards should be in proportion to energy and ability under fair competition. Socialism is as foreign to American tradition as communism, and for the same reason—it would cancel the normal ratio between effort and reward.

At that point at which this normal ratio becomes "queered" by the manipulation of powerful interests, the working of the principle again breaks down; and therefore *laissez-faire* has been modified by "trust" legislation, which essays to bring back again the free and fair field for individual effort in business. Just why Americans think and act cooperatively in social affairs and individually in economic ones, whereas the European tendency is to reverse this distinction, lies outside our discussion. This is the American tradition.

III. A third great principle in American living is that of social and political democracy, premised on equality of opportunity for culture and on intrinsic standards of judgment for the individual. Political democracy is now to some extent the common possession of all western nations, some of which seem to have gone at least as far as the United States in its consistent application. But probably in no other country, certainly in no other large country, has social democracy been carried so far nor its conditions so generally understood. The colonies were founded by folk of every class, from those farthest advanced in actual culture and experience of control in the parent countries, to outcasts and criminals and the mentally unfit. The later immigration has ranged similarly although the numerical proportions of the different classes have been different. The outstanding achievement of American life is that, despite the quite understandable efforts of some of those of aristocratic traditions to maintain their old precedence and distinction, the patrician element of the New World has consistently added to its numbers and diminished its

relative power by grading up the social life of its neighbors. This process, taking place much faster on the frontier than in the older centers, where the European tradition was strongest, has led to such dicta in common circulation as that he is a gentleman who behaves like a gentleman, and has justified the effort of the social climber. That is, the intrinsic standard has superseded the class inheritance theory of social characteristics—a theory never borne out by fact, and today clearly breaking down in its own strongholds. The greater elasticity of social organization in America, rather than the impractical myth of a society without social classes, is the peculiar difference between the American and the Old World development of the universal tendency toward social equality.

IV. The fourth principle of American action underlies and conditions all the others. It is that of the justification and practice of whatever change is warranted by social need. Nothing more natural could be imagined than that a people born in change, dedicated to change, achieving change more rapidly than any other people, should also believe in change. They who founded this nation admitted no sacredness in law because it had long been law; they revered no institution merely because it had long been revered. They had one standard, that a thing should be right; and one measure of right, that it should elevate and not degrade the whole people. Happily they who founded the nation were no radicals; they did not advocate change for its own sake, but only for a definite and clearly envisaged improvement upon existing conditions. They were men who united to willingness to change, a sensible appreciation of things long proved good.

This conservatism of common sense is bastioned and applauded by vested interest. The two unite to produce the post-war conservatism of our own day. Against the instinctive feeling that each generation should meet its own problems and that the past should be advisor and not tyrant there cries out an effective party which exalts the achievements of past days into an inviolable *status quo* for all time. Lauding the applications of the principle made by the fathers but carefully sidestepping all thought on the principle itself, it boldly accuses men of treason who dare imitate the example of the nation's founders. This habit has given to a world not, in its time of trouble, entirely

lost to a sense of humor, the recent diverting spectacle of a society composed of descendents of Revolutionary soldiers, certainly in their day the most heroically radical body conceivable to a not unimaginative age, putting on its Black List those wild and woolly organizations the Y. M. C. A., the League of Women Voters, the Catholic Welfare League, and the Federated Churches of Christ in America. It is part of the work of teachers in America to hold the mind of youth steady from the thraldom of blunders so crass, of aberrations so wasteful and harmful as these. It is part of their work to show why change is the law of life, and stagnation the sign of death; and why the greatest dishonor that can be shown the fathers is to pay lip-service to the deeds of their day, rejecting the principles they adopted while enjoying the farthest reach of their sacrificial achievement.

The special significance of these principles for public education, and especially for teachers of the social studies, lies in their implications for the public school system. Public welfare is hurt by the ignorant citizen. Individual initiative is unfairly restricted for the unprivileged citizen, who is cut off from his birthright of a chance to achieve cultural equality. Free education permits and helps each citizen to find his social level. Change is wisely conditioned, possible but not precipitate, only under an educated citizenry.

So premised and interpreted, it is difficult to conceive a sounder basis for education in citizenship than the Patriotic Thesis. Patriotism need not be bigotry, it need not be nationalism, it need not be ignorance. If it be thought of as that love of country which brooks no sin in the beloved, which unites with pride no smirch of assumptive arrogance and which recognizes that no country and no race may with honor and impunity usurp the supreme place of humanity itself in human consideration, Patriotism stands still the strongest incentive and the truest guide in public education.

But to see clearly the relation of these and other principles to past progress and to present programs, is one thing; to adopt them as a creed and as a warrant for devoted labor is another. At this point thinking fails. At this point another factor in national life and in educational endeavor, potent in the past but almost snowed under in the drifts of educational theory and ex-

periment, appears to those who look. The teacher and the administrator must have faith in the thing they seek, and in the human material with which they work. They must believe in the work of their hands, they must feel that thing good for which they give their strength, they must envision the social ends for which their lives are spent. Curricular materials will change in the future as they have in the past. Methods will shift and doubtless improve with time. Curricular materials and methods are but the machinery of education, to be improved like any other machinery by the good workmen who manipulate it. But faith in the national destiny and in the world-wide service of America is the driving force behind the complicated educational machine, and if that fail the marvelous mechanism built up by experts becomes an inert and dead thing. It can then be fit only for a museum of the outworn instruments of man's progress. If faith be lost, though the educational machinery evoke the awed admiration of all mankind, the product must be nil.

To none save to those to whom the national ideals are alive and vital, can there come a potent faith. Without idealism, there is no end in which to center faith; without faith, there is no power. Our highly developed public education today suffers from the egoistic mistake of many of its leaders, who exaggerate the importance of recent improvements in the machine into a major place in the scheme of things. No sane mechanic mistakes his improved valve or wheel for the power that produces motion.

Turning for an hour from means and methods then, it is worth while to contemplate that great thing for which the epic experiment of national education was called into being. Not for a trivial end, not for any ephemeral accomplishment, did our fathers found the public school system. Not for information or conventional culture do we teach history and government and the principles of economics. Certainly not to perpetuate any such limitation of human understanding and helpfulness as is inherent in class feeling and nationalism, is the slow evolution of man's life into constantly broader and deeper channels, set before the responsive mind of youth. But *we believe*—

In the human race,
In the reality of progress,

In the necessity for self-control and
social control,
In the experiment of the fathers,
In the principles they laid down, and
In the happy destiny they saw ahead.

We believe also that in the continuing process of realizing our faith, the public school must play a major part. For the public school is the creature and the creator of the nation, thought of its thought, life of its life, supported by its effort and dedicated to its advancement. If the teachers to whom that instrument is intrusted believe in the destiny toward which, with all its mistakes and sins, the nation must slowly move, then is the work informed with truth, and the service with beauty. We shall continue to sow to good harvest, as in the past. To those who try sincerely to see the end from the beginning, there must appear as the goal of effort a land transformed, in a world remade. Let us go up and take that land.

FRANCES MOREHOUSE.

JOSÉ BONIFACIO, THE NEGLECTED LIBERATOR OF BRAZIL[1]

It is no more possible to discuss Europe in the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century without mentioning Napoleon than it is to discuss the history of modern Brazil from 1822 to the present time without writing about José Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva.

Yet historians have slighted Bonifacio in a most amazing fashion. Ignorance as an excuse for this neglect on the part of unbiased scholars is not a tenable explanation since Armitage [2] and Handelmann [3] writing respectively in 1835 and 1860, definitely assigned a great role to Bonifacio in the history of Brazil.

Brazilian historians may have neglected him in the past, but that is no longer the case. Since 1922, when the centenary of Brazilian Independence was celebrated, a deluge of documents, essays, monographs, dictionaries and books has appeared on the movements of 1821, 22 and 23; and many of these deal at length with Bonifacio, and all of them reveal, as never before, how ubiquitous was Bonifacio's direct and indirect influence in the most momentous period of Brazilian national life. Despite the overwhelming evidence of contemporary documents and the unstinted and uncontrolled praise of modern Brazilian writers, many works appearing or revised since 1922 still slight the "Father of Modern Brazil", as he is called by many.

There are probably two outstanding factors, among others, contributing to this neglect of Bonifacio. One is the language barrier. Portuguese seems to be a stumbling block even to scholars who can handle Spanish well. The second is the lack of appreciation of Brazil's part in the history and development of Latin America. The *number* of Spanish speaking nations, terms such as *Hispanic* American, the proximity of Spanish speaking countries

[1]Because of the omplexity of the bibliography, all references in the text will be to the name of author and work or essay. Full identification can be obtained by looking under author's name in the bibliography.

[2]Armitage—*The History of Brazil, 1835.*

[3]Handelmann—*Geschichte von Brasilien,* 1860.

to the United States, the absence in Brazil of great military heroes like San Martin, Sucre and Bolivar, the monarchyhood of Brazil from 1822 to 1889 all may have contributed to a lack of interest in Brazilian life and institutions. How else can one explain the neglect of one of the greatest figures America has turned out.

It is true that much of the modern writing on Bonifacio has suffered from the nationalism touch, but the discerning historian can always weed out the unnecessary and prejudiced embellishments and leave before him the naked facts. The mere facts about Bonifacio, I believe, will show how much he, among the truly great figures of history, has been neglected, underestimated and ignored.

The background[1] and setting of Bonifacio's political life are easily described. Brazil, a colony of Portugal from 1500 to 1808, was governed under the mercantilist and absolutist policies of those centuries. Though neglected at first because precious metal had not been discovered and because the East proved a greater lure, a large slave owning planter aristocracy deeply intrenched itself in Brazil. Both Indian and negro slaves were the labor of agriculture and mining, the economic systems on which Brazil based her existence. The history of the colonial period, aside from the expulsion of the French and the Dutch, was a struggle between the Jesuits, who defended the Indian, and the planter, who sought to enslave him. The suppression of the Jesuits and the freeing of the Indians by Pombal greatly increased the inflow of negroes—642,000 coming from Angola between 1759 and 1803—and lessened control over the Indian population.

Brazil was a viceroyalty, but the administration was not centralized. Great distances, the predetermined impotence of the viceroy, and the fact that the governors of each captaincy received orders directly from Lisbon, made of Brazil a disconnected colony. It was decentralized, and centrifugal forces were constantly in operation. Absence of roads, the heterogeneity of its population, and the unevenness of the Portuguese administration all contributed to the development of different degrees of culture in various parts of the colony.

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[1]See bibliography for histories of Brazil consulted.

In spite of Portuguese desire to keep them out, French philosophy, and knowledge of the American and French revolutions seeped in, as well as the works of Adam Smith and Say. Revolutions in 1789 and 1801 showed that the Brazilians were discontented with the overlordship of the weak Portuguese monarchy.

In 1807, fear of Napoleon caused the Portuguese royal family to flee to Brazil. The court was set up in Rio and in 1815 Brazil was elevated to an empire. The court with all its trappings satisfied the aristocratic elements, others were heartened by beneficial decrees such as the opening of Brazilian ports, the establishment of a bank, press, library, tribunals of justice, freer industry, schools, etc. But the vast expenditures entailed in the maintenance of sycophantic Portuguese noblemen enraged the business and radical classes of Brazil, and other factors, too, offset the blessings brought by Dom João VI's stay. In 1817 a great republican revolt broke out in the Province of Pernambuco. The revolutionaries, however, were no match for the trained troops of Portugal, the revolt failed, and the leaders were summarily punished.

The three revolts, that of 1789 in Minas for independence, that of the negroes in Bahia in 1801, and the republican revolt in Pernazbuco of 1817, revezl that there was as yet no coordinated nationality—if I may use the expression—that the negro element had to be taken into account, and that in certain sections there was a strong republican sentiment. In the case of the last revolt, it became clear that the presence and decrees of the King were not sufficient to satisfy the yearning for independence.

In 1820 the revolt in Portugal led to Dom João VI's return to Liston. The Portuguese desired a constitution and the rehabilitation of their Cortes. Jealousy of Brazil played no small part in this uprising. Brazil's commerce had grown while Portugal's had declined. Portugal was now "becoming impatient of a despotism unsupported by the pomp of royalty".[1] This revolt stimulated in the Brazilians a desire either for a representative system of their own or for representation in the metropolitan Cortes. The immediate and important thing for Brazil, however, was the departure of the King, who left his son as regent. Though

[1]Armitage—The History of Brazil, etc., p. 21.

there was not much affection between them, "when the old King strained his son to his bosom for the last time he exclaimed, 'Pedro, Brazil will, I fear, ere long separate herself from Portugal; and if so, place the crown on thine head, rather than allow it to fall into the hands of any adventurer.' "[1]

The young Prince "had many essentials for popularity".[2] His immediate problem was to check, if possible, the growing disunion between the Portuguese and the Brazilians. The cleavage showed itself in all ranks, in the army, among the clergy, in officialdom, in society. He also had great financial difficulties resulting from the extravagance of Dom João's stay of thirteen years and from graft in the Royal Bank. Many other vaxetious problems arose to harass his administration. There was unrest everywhere. Brazilian desire for representation and the espousal by the Portuguese troops in Brazil of the Constitutional cause forced the King, before he sailed, and the Prince, who remained, to accept a constitution as yet not written.

Brazilian representatives to the Portuguese Cortes were elected and were sent to Lisbon. The only delegation which carried instructions was that of the Junta of São Paulo, of which José Bonifacio was Vice-President. The Cortes rushed to legislate for Portugal and Brazil and gave evidence of desiring to "recolonize" Brazil, hoping thereby to regain Portugal's lost trade and prestige. The purport of these decrees was to interchange the troops of Brazil and Portugal; to abolish most of the tribunals set up in Brazil; to free the provinces from the control of the Prince-regent; and lastly, to force the Prince to return. The Brazilian deputies to the Cortes were so outnumbered that they were unable to change the course of events in that body, and, as Pinto da Rocha says, "If the Portuguese Cortes had to force Brazil to proclaim its independence they could not have acted otherwise. It would be different to be more unjust and more inefficient."[3]

From 1810 on, the Spanish colonies had been revolting against Spain. That the successive steps of their revolt was known in Brazil is amply proved by the correspondence of Baron Marschall,

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[1]Armitage, p. 36.

[2]Armitage, p. 37.

[3]Arthur Pinto da Rocha—O Ministerio, etc., p. 68.

the representative of Metternich in Brazil.[1] The earlier success of the American colonies and the various revolts in Brazil could suggest only one way of thwarting the evident intention of the Portuguese Cortes. It is not surprising, therefore, that events of great moment crowded themselves into less than two years.

In obedience to the decrees of the Cortes, temporary provincial governments or juntas had been set up in Brazil. These became centures for separatist ideas as the Cortes showed themselves more and more intractable. Masonic lodges broadcast separatist and republican propaganda. The municipality of Rio and the Junta of São Paulo, together with other elements, joined in urging the Prince to remain in Brazil.

The letter from the Junta of São Paulo, penned by Bonifacio, was most eloquent and played no small part in the Regent's decision. And on January 9, 1822, Dom Pedro pronounced these famous words, "If it be for the good of all and for the general felicity of the nation, tell the people that I will remain."[2] And the ninth of January is still known as the "I will remain" day. On the 16th, the first independence ministry of Brazil was formed, with José Bonifacio as Minister of Interior, Justice, and Foreign Affairs.[3] He published a decree on February 16 calling for the convocation of a council of representatives, the members of which were to be deputed by the electors of all the various provinces of Brazil. His purpose was to circumvent the disruption of Brazil which the carrying out of the decrees of the Cortes would have involved. Not all the provinces could send delegates because of the presence of royal troops. By November, 1823, all of Brazil was rid of these soldiers, with the assistance of Lord Cochrane and by the "energy and foresight of Bonifacio (who) had already provided adequate means for their speedy and effectual expulsion". On May 13 Dom Pedro was given the title, "Perpetual Protector and Defender of Brazil". The Prince eagerly agreed to the calling of a Constituent Assembly. At the behest of Bonifacio, who was now the Prince's closest and most influential advisor, Dom Pedro visited several provinces to win their loyalty

[1]Documentos para a Historia da Independencia, etc.

[2]Armitage, p. 64.

[3]From which time the Portuguese historians, Merea and Peres, date the independence of Brazil, p, 273.

to himself and to the cause. He completely won the province of Minas and in September was just leaving the city of São Paulo for Rio when he received disturbing dispatches from the Cortes, from his royal father and from loyal advisors in Rio which greatly disturbed him and caused him to act immediately. At Ypiranga, therefore, on September 7, he tore off the Portuguese insignia and colours from his uniform and cried, "Independence or Death", and this became the motto of a freed Brazil. Dom Pedro became Constitutional Emperor of Brazil and was crowned with great pomp and ceremony December 1, 1822.

According to Armitage, everything augured well for Brazil. "Public opinion, that 'Queen of the World', as Dom Pedro himself styled her, was almost universally in his favor, and had he governed with even common prudence, he might have been adequately successful....."[1]

In April, 1823, the Constituent Assembly met in Rio, and José and his brother Antonio Carlos were chosen members of the drafting committee. The Andradas wished to give the Emperor extraordinary powers while the Liberals desired the Supremacy of parliament over the Emperor. And though the opposition was terrific, the Andrada Ministry,[2] "to whom Brazil owed her independence and Dom Pedro his crown", continued "all powerful", as Armitage put it. The arbitrariness of their actions, their impatience and ambitious spirit, and the machinations of their jealous opponents, however, caused them to slip from the grace of the Emperor. They resigned but were recalled by the Emperor because of the popular furor raised in their behalf. Finally the Emperor in disgust dissolved the Assembly, dismissed the Anrada ministry, and delegated to his council the drafting of a constitution. This constitution of 1824, nevertheless, contained many of the ideas of Antonio Carlos.

The Andradas now went into opposition. They founded a newspaper, the Tamoyo, and either from pique or resentment adopted policies more liberal than those they had advocated while in power. Their suspicion of the trustworthiness of the Emperor may have caused this rather sudden change in their attitude.

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[1]Armitage, p. 90.

[2]Another brother, Martin Francisco, was Minister of Finance.

After their dismissal he appointed a ministry of Royalists and showed too much leniency to the Portuguese with whom Brazil was technically at war. The Andradas remained members of the House of Deputies and both there and outside their talents as orators and thinkers gave them much influence. Finally an editorial regarding the Portuguese troops gave the Emperor the excuse he sought for. The Andradas were arrested and sent to Europe as exiles.

José Bonifacio remained abroad composing verse until 1828. In 1831 the Emperor, who seemed to be more Portuguese than Brazilian in interests, was forced to abdicate. He made Bonifacio the tutor of his children. This tutorship, however, lasted only until 1834, because José and his brothers were suspected of plotting the "restoration" of Dom Pedro I. In that year he was exiled to the island of Paquetá but was later allowed to move to Nichteroy, where he died in 1838.

Biographical Sketch of Jose Bonifacio.

Bonifacio[1] son of a Portuguese nobleman and of a distinguished Paulista mother, was born in Santos, the seaport of the coffee state of São Paulo, in 1765. He was proud of being a Paulista, the pioneer in most of the progressive movements of Brazil. First taught by his father, later, according to the custom of the day, when 17 years old he was sent to the University of Columbia in Portugal, where he obtained degrees from the faculties of Philosophy and Jurisprudence. He specialized in Mineralogy and Metallurgy.

While a student he cultivated his poetical and literary talents. As a boy he had composed many poems and in Portugal his literary ability was greatly admired. He is included in Sylvic Romero's "History of Brazilian Literature" and his work is criticized there as though he were merely a great figure in the realm of polite letters. When exiled after performing his great work for Brazil, in Bordeaux, under the name of Americo Elysio he spent most of his time composing verses of real literary merit. To say the least, he was versatile.

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[1]Sylvio Romero—Historia do Brazil, and Diccionario e Encyclopedia Internacional.

It was, however, as a scientist that he won European renown. After his graduation at Coimbra he was commissioned by the Portuguese government to make a scientific expedition in Europe. He travelled from 1790 to 1800. And what years for a trained observer! Bonifacio was a true scientist in that he used his talents for the observation of all natural phenomena and not only for those of his specialty. This will become clear in a study of Bonifacio's ideas. He visited France, Germany, England, Sweden, Denmark and the Tyrolese mines. It is unnecessary for me to tell you of the types of government and experiments in government he had an opportunity to observe. On this trip he formed friendships with some of the greatest minds of the day. Alexander von Humboldt was always eager to refer to Bonifacio as his friend and carried on a correspondence with him. Bonifacio worked with Volta, Priestley, Lavoisier, and others. He was made a member of the Society of Research of Berlin, of the Natural History and Filomatic Society of Paris, the Geological Society of London, the Mineralogical and Linnean of Jena. He studied at the University of Freiburg. While in Sweden he discovered several minerals until then unknown and contributed articles to many scientific magazines. He wrote concerning minerals, their exploitation, etc., and showed even in these highly scientific productions that practical sense which was a marked characteristic of his whole life and work. One article in particular on the "Reforestation of the Monodego" showed not only the universality of his interests and knowledge but his great insight into the relation of natural and sociological phenomena.

The relation of Bonifacio to Humboldt will serve more than anything else to classify him. He represented the modern spirit of Europe and was one of its most effective and intelligent apostles.

In 1800 he returned to Portugal as full Professor at the University of Coimbra. He occupied other official positions such as supervisor of mines, chief of police of Cintra, and led a corps of students against French troops when Napoleon invaded the peninsula. In 1812 he was made secretary of the Academy of Sciences and Letters of Lisbon. In 1817 he made a remarkable speech in honor of the queen, of which only one sentence interests us. In speaking of Brazil he says, "What a land for a great and

vast Empire!'' showing that he had not only not forgotten his native land but must have thought of her destiny and of her possibilities. In fact, a modern historian makes the comment that Bonifacio's faith in Brazil was his greatest attribute.

After an absence of eighteen years, Bonifacio in 1819 returned to his native land and devoted himself to study and research, only to be caught in the whirlwind of the great events that occurred in 1921, 22 and 23, of which he became the center, the director, and the controlling mind. It was he who organized the Junta of São Paulo, it was he who persuaded the Prince to remain in Brazil, it was he who led the Prince and advised him, it was he who called for deputies of the various provinces, it was he who made Dom Pedro the Grand Master of the Apostolado, a lodge founded by Bonifacio. This lodge was in favor of a monarchical government while the lodge from which it broke away was republican in spirit.

It was Bonifacio and his two distinguished brothers who ruled Brazil for the eighteen most momentous months of Brazilian history. It was he who laid down the basis of organization and also the most vital policies followed by Brazil in the solution of her most difficult problems. The three great changes in Brazilian life were, because of Bonifacio, bloodless, more the result of evolution than revolution. Brazil escaped the direful effects of the American Revolutionary War, of the French Revolution, and of the American Civil War because what these accomplished by blood was accomplished peacefully in Brazil. It was Bonifacio who solved the Brazilian problem with a Brazilian solution. He did not make the mistake made by the Spanish American republics of adapting the constitution of the United States as a remedy for their ills, which produced, as Professor Shepherd puts it, ''political indigestion''. Brazil had no dictators, no great civil wars, no great revolutionary upheavals. Her evolution was slow but sure, and nearly always progressive. Bonifacio knew his people, their traditions and customs, their psychology, the land. He understood the system of production; he knew what was going on in Spanish America; he knew what had happened in France. He understood the real significance of slavery and of the Indian problem; he knew the meaning of democracy and how futile it would be in Brazil at that historical moment; he knew that there was as yet no Brazilian nationality, no national cohesion; he

realized that extremely intelligent measures would have to be used to bring order out of the chaos. He was arbitrary, human, and loved power—as a result he was exiled.

Contemporary Testimony About Jose Bonifacio.

Probably the most reliable of the witnesses who lived in Rio during at least part of the time that Bonifacio walked the stage was Armitage,[1] often referred to above. Even though he was closer to the trees than modern historians, Armitage saw the forest more clearly than they. He wore no nationalist spectacles and thus his vision was not blurred. He refers to himself as the impartial chronicler when he sums up the services of the Andradas to Brazil, "Their views were ever great and their probity unimpeachable. It was by José Bonifacio that the uncertain and inconstant resolutions of Dom Pedro were irrevocably fixed..... They retired from office undecorated and in honourable poverty." And in summing up the ten years of Dom Pedro I's reign he makes these significant comments, "His accession to the throne was in all probability the means of preserving Brazil from an anarchy even more fatal than that which has hitherto been the fate of the Spanish colonies. Any premature attempts to establish a republic must have led to a sanguinary and protracted war in which the slave popoulation would have taken up arms, and havoc and desolation would have been spread over the fairest portion of South America.....The regimen to which the people were accustomed was monarchical and the monarchy was the best instrument to introduce that civilization which was wanting.[2]

That Bonifacio was very much respected by his enemies is revealed by the very animosity of the leader of the Portuguese troops in Brazil, General Jorge de Avilez. The ardor of his wrath is in itself a pretty compliment; he refers to Bonifacio as the "naturalist who suddenly becomes a politician....whose language is unison with that of the demagogues of all the time and of all places....hiding behind a mask of patria, constitutions, hatred of

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[1]Armitage. An Englishman who resided in Brazil, took up the history of Brazil where Southey left off, and has two volumes covering the period form 1808 to 1835.

[2]Armitage—vol. 2, p. 138.

tyranny, and other terms with which revolutionary dictionaries abound.[1]

Even in the Portuguese Cortes his movements were watched and commented upon. Borges Carneiro, a member of that body, said, "There (i. e. in Brazil) one man alone, José Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva, with the energy of his character improvises land and sea armaments, finds resources in abundance, and throws us out of doors with the least ceremony possible. We waste our time talking and do nothing but register the insults we receive from Brazil".[2]

Fortunately for future historians, some of the European diplomats in Brazil were not only conscientious but shrewd observers. It is only natural that the governments of Metternich and of Ferdinand VII should watch with keen interest the various steps of the movement in Brazil. The representative of these two countries paid Bonifacio the great compliment of singling him out as the subject of long reports. Almost daily they registered their ob servations of his actions, his opinions, and the opinions of others concerning him. Consciously and unconsciously they reveal that they considered him the key to the whole situation. Baron Marschal[3] calls Bonifacio a man "of much grace" and says that it was due to him that the Junta of São Paulo adhered immediately to the Regency established by the King. On another occasion he comments, "José Bonifacio is going very far", i. e., towards independence.

> "The majority of sensible persons with whom I have talked.... believe the Prince to have made a mistake when he dismissed the Andrada ministry .....It is believed the prince will have to recall them.
>
> "Andrada and his brother exercise a great influence in the Legislative Assembly of which they are members".[4]

José Delavat y Rincon, Spanish Minister in Rio, writes to his chief in Madrid,

To show the popular appreciation of Bonifacio and his brothers, the following quotation from the petition to the Emperor request-

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[1]Laudelino Freire—Acceitacâo Titulo, etc., p. 185.
[2]Oliveira Lima—O Movimento, etc., p. 185.
[3]Documentos.
[4]Documentos, etc., p. 444.

ing their reinstatement in the ministry is significant not only because of the content but because almost every class of Brazilian is represented among the signers. There are fifteen and one-half pages of signatures. I have found the following represented: druggist, priests and bishops, officers of the army, business men, professors, government officials, grocers, artisans, shoemaker, surgeon and students. Some sign for themselves and family, or for a club, or for themselves and friends. The petition in part reads as follows:

> "The people of the capital and province, lovers of the great cause of the Empire of Brazil,.... swear that the dismissal of the well loved citizens José Bonifacio and Martin Francisco de Andrada e Silva is detrimental to the greatness and progress of the movement for independence of this growing but rich and vast empire. Their knowledge of things political, their literary renown, their honour, the confidence they have inspired among foreign powers, their patriotism and love..... have made them the anchor (with your Majesty) of this Empire. Removing them threatens us with confusion, anarchy, desolation, despotism and civil war."[1]

In presenting excerpts from Bonifacio's writings, many of them may seem undeserving of attention. To those who know Brazil of today, and something of the Brazil of the twenties of the last century, and to those who know Brazilians and Latin psychology, every one of the following quotations contains a noteworthy sentence. Bonifacio's ideas on education and athletics sound like those of present day, practical minded, non-poetic Anglo-Saxons. One must compare him with the other liberators of his day to get a truer and better perspective on his philosophy. He reveals throughout his whole life a stark realism, and his policies and plans, therefore, are all feasible and practicable. He had dug into real earth too long as a geologist to waste much time in reaching for unattainable clouds. He was an idealist, but his idealism was based on a foundation of reality and did not dangle footless from some beautiful star. His training as a scientist, his keen powers of observation,[2] and his cosmopolitan experience

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[1]Documentos, etc., pp. 402 ff.

[2]Sylvio Romero, the great Brazilian critic, refers to his keen powers of observation.

precluded loose and superficial thinking on social and political problems. He knew that it was just as impossible to transform copper into gold by a mere thought process as it was to make aristocratic Portuguese, illiterate slaves and savage Indians into intelligent democrats. In comparing him with Washington, San Martin and Bolivar, one notes that Bonifacio was not a soldier, nor did he lead armies. His force was the force of mind, and judging by results, it was vastly superior to matter.

In 1822, when Brazil had to strike out on her own as a free people, these were the great problems she had to solve.

1. Constitute a republican or monarchical government for a people with no experience in self government, composed of three races and mixtures of those races, who lived in an enormous territory, with different climates and systems of production. Add to these factors the decentralization of colonial administration and the incipient dissolution produced by the decrees of the Cortes in 1820.

2. A slave population which was far greater than the white. There were 1,930,000 slaves, 1,000,000 whites, 260,000 civilized Indians[1] and 526,000 mulattoes or free negroes. The slaves seemed indispensable to the plantation owners. To the enlightened Bonifacio this problem and the civilization of the Indians were only second to the constitution of a government.

3. A large Indian population of about 800,000, of which only 260,000 were civilized. Bonifacio considered both the negro and the Indian as integral parts of the population and part of the patrimony of *free* Brazil.

It was to the solution of these great problems that Bonifacio bent every effort. The great glory of Bonifacio is that his solution in each case was the one adopted, during both the Empire and the Republic. For the first, he demanded a limited constitutional monarchy—one was established; for the second, he preached the gradual emancipation of the slaves—the slaves were emancipated gradually; and for the third, he proposed a comprehensive plan for the intelligent civilization of the Indians—and his plan is that being used by Brazil today.

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[1]Keller—Colonization.

[2]Diccionario Historico, etc., pp. 240 ff.

In explaining why he chose a monarchical solution for Brazil, he had in mind the peculiar needs of his people. He knew their weaknesses and had the courage to point them out. No one but a Brazilian and a Bonifacio could say the following and remain persona grata in Brazil:

> "Bonifacio's program includes material improvements, construction of roads and canals, the impartial administration of justice, abolition of the slave trade, good schools, and the improvement of the race by means of gymnastics and athletics for the physical improvement of the youth of Brazil.[1]
>
> "The Brazilians are enthusiastic supporters of a beautiful ideal, friends of their own liberty and do not give up easily the privileges they have once won.... Ignorant because uneducated but talented by nature.... capable of great deeds as long as concentration is not required and as long as continued and monotonous effort is not demanded; sexually passionate because of climate, life and education. They undertake much but finish little.[2]
>
> "They accuse me of having planted the monarchy, yes, because I saw that the customs of the people were eminently aristocratic; because it was necessary to get the support of the old families and the wealthy men who detested and feared the demagogues; because Portugal was monarchical, and the Brazilians, imitative monkeys. Without the monarchy there would have been no center of strength and union and without this the nation could not have resisted the Portuguese Cortes and could not have.[3] achieved her national independence.

Bonifacio was very much aware of the distracted state of the Spanish American republic who were struggling with a form of government for which they were not prepared by temperament or by education. He remembered what he had seen while in France and recalled it to the constituent assembly in the notable speech reported by Armitage:

> "José Bonifacio dilated on the unfortunate condition of Spanish America for 14 years involved in civil war; he dwelt on the sufferings of France, assuaged only by

[1]Oliveira Lima—O Movimento, etc., p. 200.

[2]Vicente Licinio Cardoso—Figuras e Conceitos, p. 225.

[3]Arthur da Rocha Pinto quoting Martin Francisco, grandson of José Bonifacio, in O Ministerio, p. 93.

> the return to a monarchical form of government; and after alluding to the present distracted state of the Peninsula concluded in the following words: 'As far as my voice can go, I protest in the face of the present assembly, and of the entire people, that we will form a constitution not democratic but monarchical and I myself will be the first to concede to the Emperor that which is really his due".[1]

Once he had given Brazil a solid basis for her internal development, he sought to suggest a plan for her international life which savours very much of Pan Americanism and in which he antedated Bolivar by four years, thus becoming the first Pan Americanist. Lima quotes Baron Marschal as writing in May 1822 to his government the following:

> "Mr. d'Andrada is going very far....I heard him say yesterday in the presence of twenty foreign diplomats that a great alliance or American federation was necessary, with absolute free trade, that if Europe should refuse to allow this, the ports would be closed and they (i. e. the Americans) would adopt the Chinese system, and if the Europeans wished to attack them then the woods and mountains would serve as fortresses. Time and space were the arms of governments as they were of nature".[2]

Bonifacio's realism becomes very clear in the recommendations addressed to the Portuguese Cortes in the instructions given the Paulista deputies to that body. In a country where even today theory, philosophy and other abstract subjects tend to monopolize school curricula, the practicality of the courses Bonifacio suggested for a university to be founded in São Paulo stands in very bold relief. He even speaks of living expenses, always a matter of real concern to students of all ages and places. He suggests that the well born and rich should learn something useful. He is ever conscious of the milieu and in many of his saying she mentions climate as a vital factor in Brazilian problems. The profundity and soundness of his thinking are never affected adversely by the universality of his interests. The following is a condensation of his instructions mentioned above:

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[1]Armitage, p. 120.

[2]Oliveira Lima—O Movimento, etc., p. 199.

"The civil and criminal codes should take into account Brazilian conditions—the climate, inhabitants, the people of different colours, some free and some slave. It is absolutely essential that a university be founded in São Paulo, in Sao Paulo because of its location and climate and because living is cheap. It should have four faculties: 1. Philosophy and Natural Sciences; 2. Speculative Philosophy and Fine Arts; 3. Medicine; 4. Jurisprudence, Economics, Finance and Government. There should be primary and secondary schools to prepare students for university works, and schools in which useful sciences are taught so that there will never be wanting among the wealthy class men who will not only fill positions, but who will be able to spread the knowledge which is needed for increasing the wealth and prosperity of the nation. The capital of each province should have Chairs of Medicine, Surgery, Obstetrics, Veterinary, Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, Botany and Experimental Horticulture, etc".[1]

Bonifacio's ideas in regard to slavery and the aborigene population are found in two monographs, "Apontamentos para a Civilização dos Indios" and "Representação á Constituinte Sobre a Escravatura", both found in a document of the Department of Agriculture of 1910. He anticipated Lincoln in preaching that a democracy cannot live half free and half slave. The problem of slavery in Brazil was settled as in no other country. It was abolished gradually and without bloodshed. The very close relationship of slavery to the monarchy and to colonialism is the subject of a detailed study being carried on in this country and in Brazil by a Columbia Fellow, Mr. Rüdiger Bilden. He has been kind enough to allow me to use certain parts of his excellent and scholarly manuscript. His trenchant statements are the result of careful thought and research. And yet he has no hesitation in saying,

"Indeed the ultimate effect of his very fruitful political, scientific and literary activities mark him as the greatest personal factor in the gradual abolition of slavery and in the transmutation of Brazilian energy from which evolved the Brazil of today."

Bonifacio tore down the humanitarian arguments for the defense of slavery by showing its inconsistency with Christian teach-

[1]Oliveira Lima—O Movimento, etc., pp. 119-121.

ing and with the teachings of Fraternity, Equality and Liberty. He found slavery incompatible in a state organized on the basis of popular sovereignty. He understood the moral effects upon society of the presence of large numbers of slaves and of slavery as an institution upon the economic and political life of the nation. He says:

> "But how can there be a liberal and lasting constitution in a country inhabited by an immense multitude of brutal and hostile slaves?
>
> "It is time and more than time that we and a traffic so barbarous and cruel; it is time that we should begin to end slavery gradually until it is absolutely eradicated.....so that in a few generations we may have a homogeneous nation, without, which we shall never be free, respected and happy.
>
> "It is absolutely essential that we end such physical and social heterogeneity....harmonizing....discordant elements into a whole.....which will not crumble at the least touch of political commotions.... .
>
> "Luxury and corruption appeared in Brazil long before civilization and industry, and what is the cause of such a frightful phenomena? Slavery, gentlemen, slavery, because he who lives on the earnings of his slaves lives in indolence, and indolence brings vice in its wake. Blind cupidity, however, says that slavery is necessary in Brazil because its people are flabby and lazy. They most certainly lie."

He used these humanitarian arguments because he knew there was a class of Brazilians who could be enlisted in a crusade against slavery only on idealistic grounds. In his arguments on the economic unsoundness of slavery Bonifacio showed how far ahead of his day he was and how clearly he understood the relation of slavery to national development. Incidentally, of course, the only argument which could convert slave owners to emancipation would be the economic, and therefore Bonifacio set out to tear down their misconceptions of slavery as a paying business. He spoke of the immense capital invested in slaves who die, who get ill and who become useless, an investment incommensurate with the profits received.

> "The labor of slaves in Brazil does not produce the profits with which lazy and fantastic persons deceive themselves.

"....It either makes one mad or laugh to see twenty slaves carrying twenty sacks of sugar which could be carried in one or two well built wagons drawn by two oxen or mules.

"....Twenty slaves require twenty hoes, all of which could be saved by one plow.

"....The state loses because without slavery owners would use more intelligence and industry in caring for the patrimony of the nation.

"....Our woods full of precious lumber.... would not be destroyed by the murderous axe of the negro or by the devastating flames of ignorance.

"....Cochin China has no slaves.....and yet produced enormous quantities of sugar in 1750....without the necessity of destroying the forests and sterilizing the soil as unfortunately is occurring with us."

Bonifacio realized full well that an abrupt freeing of the slaves was impossible, and he made it a cardinal part of his policy that they be freed gradually. In many articles of the program he prepared for the assembly he has this gradual emancipation in mind. He says:

"I do not wish to see slavery abolished abruptly.... such an event would bring great evils....it is necessary first to make them worthy of freedom.

"....Make the negroes free and proud, give them incentives, protect them, they will reproduce and become valuable citizens."

He proposed the intermarriage of negroes and the other races. That has gone on in Brazil and Brazil has no "race" problem. Brazil emancipated its slaves gradually and compensated the slave owners. When slavery was finally abolished in 1888 there was no bloodshed, and the monarchy which depended on it fell the next year.

The third great problem Bonifacio set out to solve was that of the wild Indian. The introduction to the essay on this problem is by General Candido M. da Silva Rondon, the present day apostle to the Indians of Brazil. The occasion was the inauguration in 1910 of the service of protection of the Indians—part of the ceremony was a homage to Bonifacio because this service was based on Bonifacio's program. Rondon says,

"The process and the measures recommended by José Bonifacio to realize such a high aim are essentially the

same adopted by the Regulations (June 1910), where the dignity, habits and Indian institutions are respected religiously, as well as their life, family and property.''

''To attract them to the enjoyment of our civilization, the Regulation uses the same recommended by the Patriarch.''

''The recommendation never to *force* the Indians to leave their errors and bad habits or force them to heavy and monotonous labors, but better to win their sympathy, friendship and trust, caring for their temporal and physical welfare, is scrupulously respected and followed in the Regulation.''

Bonifacio's analysis of Indian psychology and development remind one of Boas's explanations of the conditions that influence the constitution of a population, ''heredity, environmental influences and selection''. It is unnecessary for me to remind you that Bonifacio lived in the day when race and blood were the universal explanations or excuses for inferiorities and superiorities of, or differences among, peoples. About the Indians of Brazil he says:

''Man in the savage stage.....in Brazil must be lazy; he has few or no needs....he has no idea of property, no desires for distinction, no social vanities, which are the powerful springs which put civilized man into action.....he is stupid.....(because) everything which does not concern immediately his physical conservation....escapes his attention.....But the most apathetic man must satisfy his physical and indispensable needs.....he must repel force with force.....war becomes a necessity and a pleasure.....thence come inveterate hatreds, desires for revenge, and unbridled atrocities.''

Bonifacio then makes some general remarks on the process of civilizing the Indian.

''The Jesuits knew that with presents, promises and clear and sane reasons, given by practical men in Indian languages, they could do with the savages what they wished.....The Indian is a 'mere automaton' whose springs can be set in motion by example, education and benefits.....They hate us.....because with the pretext of making them Christians we have done and are doing them great injustices and cruelties.''

He proposes in 440 articles the means for civilizing the Indians. He describes fully the machinery he would set up to accomplish his high aim. It is impossible to reproduce it here because time and space forbid. Every step is marked by common sense, practicality and thoughtfulness for the Indian and for the white alike. Some proposals, such as those relating to intermarriage, seem extreme, but he is careful to recommend all sorts of safeguards to avoid disagreeable results. He develops a system of checks and counter checks so as to guarantee that the Indian will not be exploited. He is equally anxious that the white too shall not be deceived or injured by the Indian or discriminated against by the government in behalf of the Indian.

Some of these articles are so startling in their modernness that I am quoting them in full.

ARTICLES.

1. Justice—purchase their God given lands.
2. Kindness, consistency and suffering on our part.
3. Trade with savages even at a loss.
4. Send trained missionaries.

   .....because it was crass ignorance, not to say brutality, to wish to civilize and domesticate Indians by force of arms, with soldiers and officers, mostly without sense, prudence or morality.

8. To get virtuous, prudent and educated missionaries it is necessary to guarantee them the proper salaries and necessary privileges.
14. It is necessary to arouse their curiosity and to give them exalted ideas of our power, knowledge and wealth. It would be expedient for missionaries to take an electrical apparatus.... to make beautiful and curious experiments in their presence.
20. Besides schools for the three R's schools of arts and trades.
21. Avoid abrupt changes of climate which increase mortality. Choose healthy places. Accustom them slowly to new types of work and to new foods.
25. Missionaries should introduce plow to lighten burdens of farming.

26. Missionaries should take all precautions to avoid famines.

28. Banks which will pay interest on Indian savings.

35. Vaccination.

Bonifacio was not "a prominent republican politician of Brazil", as Roosevelt calls him in his book, "Through the Brazilian Wilderness". He was not a republican nor a politician. He was much more.

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PAUL VANORDEN SHAW

ATLANTIC CITY MEETING

December 1, 1928

THE AMBASSADOR HOTEL

Saturday Morning, December 1, 10 o'clock.

Venetian Room, The Ambassador.

ADDRESSES:

"*True and False Nationalism*", Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes Columbia University.

"*Some Reflections on the Rise of American Sport*", Professor John A. Krout, Columbia University.

Saturday Afternoon, December 1, 1 o'clock.
Pompeiian Room, The Ambassador.

ADDRESS:

"*Observations From Geneva*—1928", Professor E. P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania.

TWO VARIETIES OF NATIONALISM: "ORIGINAL" AND "DERIVED".

Nationalism is *one* application of patriotism. It is patriotism applied to a nationality or to a national state. But prior to the eighteenth century, A. D., there was no widespread system of national states and no universally deep and devout consciousness of nationality. Patriotism which had existed during the many earlier centuries of recorded history had been applied to a locality, a city, a county, or other small area, or else it had been applied to an extended domain, a Roman Empire or a Christendom.

In the eighteenth century—about one hundred and fifty years ago—began a more or less systematic exalting of national differences and national peculiarities and a more or less purposeful creation of national states. In the concomitant fusing of local patriotisms and disintegration of imperial patriotism originated modern nationalism.

Nationalism originated in an extraordinarily interesting and revolutionary century. The eighteenth century was a century of humanitarianism, of sentimental regard for the brotherhood of man if not for the fatherhood of God, of critical attitude toward slavery, cruelty, and persecution, of sublime faith in human progress, even in a rather speedy perfectibility of mankind. It was a century of natural science, natural laws, and natural rights. It was a century of rationalism, when pure reason could be completely relied upon and when everything could be sweetly reasoned about. It was a century, moreover, of a new and strange tolerance: aliens were admired; infidels were praised; Jews were emancipated; heretics and even the orthodox were tolerated. Nationalism when it first arose—the "original" nationalism—could not be unaffected by its intellectual milieu.

"Original" nationalism was chiefly cultural. The first generation of nationalists noted in a tolerant, reasonable, scientific manner that the world is full of nationalities and that each has a distinctive language and literature and a peculiar character which it has acquired from the history, traditions, and habits of its forbears, and they urged with all the eloquence of eighteenth-century

balanced sentences that the particular culture of every nationality should be prized for the sake of common humanity. To Herder, that great eighteenth-century exponent of cultural nationalism, the earth was a "garden where in one plot one human national plant, in another, another, bloomed in its proper form and nature, where in this corner one kind of national animal, in that, another, pursued its course according to its instincts and character."[1]

Original nationalism, if primarily cultural, was secondarily political. Its politics, however, were essentially and emphatically "liberal". At the outset, in every country, professed nationalists were leading apostles of the doctrine of popular sovereignty, and they deduced from it in their highly reasonable manner not only the practice of political democracy within a given state but also the right of national self-determination as between states; they sought to rearrange political frontiers on national lines; and they assailed imperialism in fact as well as in name, at home as well as abroad. To quote Herder again: "The most natural state is *one* people with *one* national character. This it retains for thousands of years, and this is most naturally formed when it is the object of its native princes; for a people is as much a natural plant as a family, only with more branches. Nothing therefore appears so directly opposed to the end of government as the unnatural enlargement of states, the wild mixture of various breeds and nations under one sceptre."[2]

Hardly had this "original" nationalism asserted itself, when there appeared a second and somewhat different variety of nationalism, which I shall arbitrarily designate as "derived" nationalism. The differences between the two varieties may be suggested by citing a few well known historical facts of the last century and a half.

The differences must be obvious to the student of French history. On the one hand is the "original" nationalism of the Jacobin revolutionaries, effecting national freedom and unity for the sake of humanity, declaring in one breath "the rights of *man* and of the *citizen*", inscribing national "fraternity" in close conjunction with universal "liberty" and "equality", and inciting

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[1] *Sämmtliche Werke* (ed. Suphan), vol. xiv, p. 84.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. xiii, p. 384.

the whole nation to idealistic war in behalf of oppressed peoples and against tyrants. On the other hand is the ''derived'' nationalism of many Frenchmen in the later stages of the Revolution and during the dictatorship of Napoleon, vastly more interested in France than in humanity, boasting a superiority over all other peoples, hearing and heeding a ''divine call'' of ''manifest destiny'', waging selfish wars of conquest and bringing alien peoples under the yoke of a new imperialism. From the days of Napoleon until now, a century afterwards, such contrasts have endured in France. There are Frenchmen today, like those in the ''League of the Rights of Man'' or in Marc Sangnier's ''Young Republic'' or like M. Briand perhaps, who are loyal to the liberal ideals of ''original'' nationalism. And there are Frenchmen today, like those of the ''Action Française,'' like the late Maurice Barrès, or like M. Louis Marin, who cling to the tradition of ''derived'' nationalism.

Similar contrasts are observable in contemporary Germany and can be remarked some way back in German history. When nationalism first arose in Germany, it was preëminently the liberal cultural nationalism of Herder, Schlegel, Fichte, and Humboldt; and when it became political, as it did during the period of Prussian regeneration, it was still predominantly liberal and altruistic: it envisaged the Germans as an oppressed and subject nationality and aimed only at freeing them from domestic despots and foreign foes and joining them together in mutual charity towards one another and in more effective service for mankind. The strivings of German nationalists from 1815 to 1850—the utterances of poets and philosophers, the demonstrations of Tugendbund and Burschenschaften, the activities of political agitators, the Frankfort Assembly—represented serious, though unsuccessful, attempts to secure national independence and unity of a liberal sort,without militarism and without imperialism. But close upon the heels of such ''original'' nationalism came the ''derived'' nationalism of Bismarck's blood and iron, followed by Treitschke's lectures, Wagner's music, Chamberlain's ecstacy about the German race, attended by new German militarism, new German imperialism, new blusterings about Germany's ''place in the sun'', leading relentlessly to William II and von Ludendorff.

Similar, too, is the case of modern Italy. Consider the present-day nationalism of which Benito Mussolini is the examplar, holding the whole peninsula in thraldom, regimenting the entire nation, curbing the press, jailing or banishing all dissenters, thumbing the nose at foreign countries, shaking a big stick over Albania and Libya and Greek islands of the Aegean, and forcefully dominating Germans in the Tyrol and Yugoslavs in Istria and Dalmatia. This is Italy's "derived" nationalism. It is separated by less than a hundred years from Italy's "original" nationalism as voiced by Giuseppe Mazzini, but what a world of difference a century has made! Mazzini was a liberal: he hated oppression at home and abroad. It was because he hated oppression at home that he devoted himself equally wholeheartedly to the task of getting rid of native autocrats and to that of expelling the Austrians from the peninsula. It was because he hated oppression abroad that he organized international societies to propagate among all peoples the right and the duty of national unity and freedom. Mazzini never dreamed of denying to others what he claimed for his own nationality. He looked forward to a happy day when the world would comprise an assemblage of free and independent national states, each cherishing its peculiar language and customs and contributing something distinctive to the common store of the world's civilization and to the joint incentive of the world's progress, all living in peace and amity, appreciating and respecting one another, and coöperating for the good of each and all. And to think that the Italy of Mazzini's vision should have been transformed into the Italy of Mussolini's reality! Aladdin's lamp never performed a greater miracle.

Unfortunately, the case of Italy is not unique. Every subject or oppressed nationality has begun its nineteenth-century agitation for national liberty and union in the spirit of a Mazzini, a Condorcet, or a Herder. It has put before itself and its members an ideal of justice and self-sacrifice. It has been revolutionary. It has assailed reaction, privilege, autocracy, militarism, and imperialism. It has sympathized with similar efforts elsewhere and in turn has received the lively sympathy, and sometimes the decisive help, of liberals, democrats, and progressives in foreign countries. In many instances, however, a nationality which has once been "oppressed" but which has obtained its freedom,

transforms its "original" nationalism into a "derived" nationalism which renders it reactionary, militarist, and imperialist: it then proceeds itself to "oppress" subject nationalities and to oppose their national demands; it arouses the suspicion and distrust, perhaps the fear and hatred, of foreign peoples. Transformations of this kind have been the rule, rather than the exception, in European history of the past hundred years; they are evidenced by historical events in Italy and Germany, in Hungary and Poland, in Rumania and Belgium, in Yugoslavia and Greece, in France and England. Are they not also evidenced by American history?

II

From the earlier "original" nationalism, the later "derived" nationalism appears to be a radically different phenomenon. Their expressed goals are certainly different, and so are their immediate effects. Yet it must be confessed, most regretfully, that the latter is really derived from the former, that what I have arbitrarily described as "derived" nationalism has grown imperceptibly and rather naturally out of the "original" eighteenth-century nationalism. This fact may occasion surprise, but it will become clearer and more obvious if we take a little time to suggest three ways in which the one variety of nationalism has actually been derived from the other.

First, it has been derived through the exigencies of achieving the political goal of "original" nationalism. A hundred and fifty years ago, say about 1775, the political map of Europe was mainly a map of sprawling international empires, and of straggling intranational-feudal states and city-states. The original nationalists of that era aspired, as we have seen, to redraw the political map on national lines; and within the next hundred and fifty years, say by 1925, such aspirations had been largely realized. Empires of Habsburgs and Hohenzollerns, Romanovs and Ottomans had been dissolved; duchies and city-states had been consolidated in Germany and in Italy; national states had been erected for Norwegians and Finns, for Greeks and Bulgarians, for Czechs and Lithuanians, for Yugoslavs and Irish. But at what expense! The monarchs of the old empires and the lords of the local states did not give willing ear to the pleas of nationalists; they did not voluntarily abdicate nor did they freely consent to the

needful contraction or consolidation of their dominions; and they had the support of numerous vested interests and powerful agencies of the old regime. The "original" nationalists of the French Revolution discovered to their surprise and consternation that the oppressed peoples to whom they proclaimed the revolutionary doctrine of liberal and democratic nationalism did not instantly rise against reactionary tyrants but rather did the bidding of those very tyrants and took up arms against "justice" and "humanity". What the French revolutionaries discovered was rediscovered time and time again by every group of "original" nationalists seeking unity and freedom for their respective nationalities. The only method by which the political map of Europe could seemingly be made to conform to the principle of nationalities, was the very method which "original" nationalists had deprecated and denounced—the method of war. And actually the national redrawings of the map were accomplished between 1775 and 1925 by a rapid succession of great international wars—the wars of the Revolution and Napoleon, the wars incidental to the revolts of 1830 and 1848, the wars associated with the name of Napoleon III, the Balkan Wars, the colossal World War.

These have been the exigencies of achieving the political goal of "original" nationalism and they have given rise to "derived" nationalism. They have been war and all its works; deeds of valor and personal self-sacrifice; the preparations for war; the after-effects of war; militarism, entangling alliances, diplomatic chicanery; killings, destruction, atrocities, the deepest and most enduring enmities. All these things have been experienced so long and so widely and so thoroughly that they have become for large numbers of persons in almost every modern nationality an aspect of national habit, an integral part of national tradition, a sacred portion of national history; they have entered into national character. But "original" nationalism had extolled national character as it was or as it should be; what more natural than that "derived" nationalism should cherish national character as it is and with it the later military accretions to national history, national tradition, and national habit?

Secondly, "derived nationalism" has been produced by the natural evolution of agencies of education invented and fostered by "original" nationalism. The first nationalists were zealous

advocates of state-directed universal schooling in order that all the members of the nation might read and write the national language, might participate intelligently and patriotically in national affairs, and might share in the progress of the sciences and arts, of enlightenment and humanity. This, certainly, was what Thomas Jefferson had in mind as the function of the early system of state education which he advocated; and the system which has since overspread the whole United States still reveres Jefferson as one of its prophets and progenitors. But if Thomas Jefferson were to come to life in our century and read Miss Bessie Pierce's survey of the teaching of patriotism in the schools, if he were to study the recommendations of such school "experts" as those that latterly have served a Mayor Hylan or a Mayor Thompson, he would be acutely aware of the fact that even in his beloved country the chief agency on which he had relied for the propagation of his "original" liberal nationalism is expected to propagate a "derived" nationalism that is obscurantist if not reactionary. Being an enquiring kind of man, he would probably discover that state-schools in Europe, as well as in America, have been an effective means of transforming "liberal" into "derived" nationalism.

Early nationalists appreciated, too, the importance of cheap and popular enlightening journalism; and such journalism as that of Benjamin Franklin, to mention but one American example, admirably served the purpose of "original" nationalism. But times gradually changed. New needs and new opportunities arose. Now, morons have learned to read. Now, journalism is cheaper and more popular than ever before. But is the *Saturday Evening Post* more truly enlightening under Mr. Curtis's proprietorship than under Benjamin Franklin's? Are Mr. Hearst's papers more humanitarian than Franklin's? Are the myriads of tabloids more genuinely patriotic? For a "derived" nationalism, yes! but for the "original" nationalism, no! Yet the one type of journalism has imperceptibly grown from the other.

The men who warred against British redcoats in order to win our independence as a nation were liberals and revolutionaries. To keep alive the memory of their exploits and to preserve the traditions of their "original" nationalism, they created certain patriotic societies—the Society of the Cincinnati, the Columbian

Society, etc. Then time passed. New immigrants settled in the country. Wealth accumulated faster for descendants of old comers than for newcomers. Economic and religious and social cleavage appeared in the land. And the patriotic societies, supposed agencies of "original" nationalism, underwent a natural change. The Columbian Society is now Tammany Hall of New York. The Daughters of the American Revolution are now famed for their organized efficiency in preventing any person suspected of revolution or of liberalism from speaking to them. They are, I believe, like most contemporary patriotic societies the world over, outspoken in support of army-bills and navy-bills and the Metternichian policy of preserving order in "backward" countries. Their nationalism is obviously "derived".

Still another, a third, factor has contributed to the deriving of one variety of nationalism from another. I refer to the modern rise of a new economic imperialism, which is an outcome of that improvement of the industrial arts which we label the Industrial Revolution. It has produced an astounding economic interdependence of the whole world and thereby has multiplied, rather than lessened, the *occasions* for friction between individuals and between groups. It has intensified the rivalry between business men of different nationalities in the search for supplies of raw materials, for sales of surplus manufactures, and for investments of surplus capital. It has brought business men of one industrialized country into new and extended competition with businessmen of another industrialized state, and has spurred both to undertake a novel and not always peaceful exploitation of "backward" countries. This new imperialism is not necessarily related to nationalism. Nationalism originated before the new imperialism. The new imperialism is primarily economic and only incidentally cultural or political. The new imperialism directly concerns not whole nationalities as such but only certain individuals or groups within particular nationalities. Yet there can be little doubt that this new imperialism has been in practice a potent factor in modifying nationalism. Individuals and groups who have had most to gain from overseas trade and overseas investment have labored unceasingly and with mounting success to secure the backing, both moral and physical, of their respective nationalities and national states. They have convinced many

of their compatriots that the economic stakes of the new imperialism are stakes of political and even cultural nationalism. For their own economic ends, wittingly or unwittingly, they have invoked *national* interests, *national* rights, and *national* honor. The new imperialists nowadays—both the beneficiaries and the abettors—are nationalists, but their nationalism, alike in spirit and in works, is "derived".

III

The spirit and works of "derived" nationalism are now evident in almost every country, including our own. What they are I have already set forth at some length in my book, *Essays on Nationalism*, which has to do chiefly with this "derived" nationalism. Here I shall content myself with a mere listing of its fairly obvious fruits:

(1) *Exclusiveness.* The centering of attention wholly or largely upon one's own nation and the more or less wilful ignoring of other nations, mingled with contempt for them. Such exclusiveness sets up against the natural progress of the modern world, against our rapidly increasing ease of communication, travel, and trade, an artificial or imaginary barrier of national isolation. It develops the idea that one's own nation is fundamentally different from, and superior to, all other nations in civilization, in achievement and promise, in good intention and good will. It prompts each nation to act as if it were a final end in itself and as if it could and should rely solely upon the strength of its own armaments and the height of its own tariff walls. It stimulates each nation to assume that its own actions are invariably just, honorable, and moral, and that the actions of other nations are frequently unjust, dishonorable, and immoral. To one's own nation is imputed a beneficent "mission" in the world; to others are attributed "sinister designs."

(2) *Jingoism.* Indulgence in a curious mixture of the habit of boastfulness and the emotion of fear. Fear accompanies a nation's feeling of isolation and insecurity, and motivates the strengthening of its armaments, and this in turn puffs up its pride and evokes from it boastfulness and sometimes bullying. Of course, no modern nation ever increases its armaments for purposes of offense against other nations; its own purposes are above reproach (in its

own eyes); but each modern nation has a clairvoyant suspicion of the purposes of some other nation and knows instinctively that its preparedness is not purely defensive. And thus fear reappears in the vicious circle of national jingoism.

(3) *Intolerance at home.* The conviction that national solidarity requires conformity to a common type on the part of racial, religious, linguistic, and social minorities, and the visitation of such non-conformist minorities with social and political disabilities and even persecution. By large numbers of Americans, for example, it is deemed absolutely subversive of true Americanism and therefore contrary to the higher unwritten law of the land that a language other than English should be used in our schools or that the Presidency of the United States should be held by a Socialist, a Negro, a Jew, or a Catholic.

(4) *Imperialism abroad.* The belief that the interests of particular persons or groups within the nation are national interests to be pursued as a national right, that any serious check upon them is an affront to national honor, that the flag—and perhaps marines—should follow trade and investments, and that national safety or national welfare may justify one national state in impairing the unity or independence of another national state, provided, of course, that the latter is the weaker.

(5) *Gullibility and docility.* The tendency on the part of the mass of a people to believe and to do what they are told by nationalist agitators to believe and to do. Nationalism is the most powerful and most popular anesthetic of modern times. Applied in large doses, it is guaranteed to cause a whole nation to abdicate reason altogether and to go to war without asking why, without knowing how, or without considering ultimate results. Applied in small doses it suffices to lull the multitude into happy dreams of their country's greatness and goodness and of their leaders' intelligence and integrity or into fitful nightmares of alarm about the menacing attitude of foreigners or about the domestic machinations of "reds", "radicals", "liberals", "pacifists" and the host of one's own countrymen who are supposed to be in the pay of this or that foreign government. Popular gullibility and docility, promoted by nationalism, are proof against most of our educational endeavors and against any well ordered and well considered program of social reform.

(6) *Religious emotionalism with attendant fanaticism.* A tendency to revive the emotionalism and the fanaticism which used to characterize supernatural religion, and to associate them anew with the creed and cult of nationalism. About our older religions we have been getting more reasonable and less fanatical: nowadays Christians have no ardent desire to crusade against Moslems; infidels do not yearn to throw Christians to the lions; Catholics do not think of burning heretics at the stake; and Protestants do not actually decapitate Catholics or Quakers. But about our new religion of nationalism we have grown less reasonable and more fanatical. True friends of religious toleration should not congratulate themselves prematurely.

Such are the spirit and works of the "derived" nationalism of the present day. This nationalism not only differs from the eighteenth-century variety but contains within itself the germs of destruction and death for the "original" liberal nationalism. "Derived" nationalism works against a truly national spirit at home because it attempts to make everyone conform to an absolute standard. It works also against the establishment of a coöperating world of peaceful national states.

IV

In some respects the problem of "derived" nationalism is more serious in the United States than elsewhere. Any kind of nationalist here, "original" or "derived", must be more dubious than the nationalist in most other countries about the raw materials with which he starts, about the blocks with which he builds. English patriots know that there is an English nationality; French patriots, that there is a French nationality; German and Italian patriots, that there are German and Italian nationalities. And all these patriots can deal with definite nationalities, long established, generally recognized, and fairly homogeneous. But the American patriot can hardly be so certain that there is an American nationality; he perceives that, if it exists at all, it is of relatively recent origin and is composed basically of most heterogeneous elements: red men, black men, white men, English, Scots, Irish, French, Germans, Italians, Poles, Magyars, Slavs, Jews, Lutherans, Calvinists, Anglicans, Baptists, Catholics, and Wesleyans. What is an American? Is he the product of a melting-pot? And if so,

is he a kind of stew, combining all the substances and all the flavors that went into the pot? Or is he a sort of onion soup, absorbing all other substances and flavors of the pot into the single taste of onions? If the latter, are the onions British or non-British? Or shall we forget the melting-pot and call him an American who simply lives in the United States and loves it? Or shall we call Americans only those who conform to certain traditions that some of us associate with America? But what traditions? And who shall determine them?

With all this uncertainty about American nationality, it is quite natural that an artificial nationalism should flourish most luxuriantly in the United States. Europe has definite nationalities which have gradually evolved distinctive nationalisms. America has had to manufacture a nationality and for the purpose has developed a made-to-order nationalism. Europe uses nationality to create nationalism. America employs nationalism to create nationality.

Most of us will readily admit, I assume, that some measure of nationalism is highly serviceable to the United States, not only by welding together its varied stocks, old and new, into a single nationality, but also by surmounting sectional divergencies in a big area and by forwarding democracy on a large scale. For these and analogous reasons, it is useful to have a common language, a common literature, and a common fund of information, habits, and traditions. If only we Americans might hold fast to what I have described as "original" nationalism, we would have no difficulty in reconciling our duty to ourselves with our duty to the world and to humanity.

But especially for America, grave dangers lurk in "derived" nationalism. Too narrow a concept of national patriotism, too determined an attempt to force a particular interpretation of nationalism upon all the inhabitants of this country, too much emphasis upon Plymouth-Rock traditions or upon White-Gentile-Protestant ascendancy, will beget and foster quarrelsome subnationalisms of Negro Americans, Jewish Americans, Catholic Americans, Irish Americans, Italian Americans, Polish Americans; all of us will become hyphenates, and the melting-pot, boiling and burning, will produce only an indigestible mess. On the other hand, if America associates her national policy with exclusiveness

and militarism and imperialism and jingoism, she incurs the suspicion, distrust, and dislike of the whole world and may eventually be brought forcefully to recall that "pride goeth before destruction and a haughty spirit before a fall." Germany in the years after 1871 embarked on a policy of "derived" nationalism: she flouted the Concert of Europe, she trusted in her own armaments, she acquired overseas colonies and protectorates, she entered into naval rivalry with Great Britain, and she grew careless of what the rest of the world was thinking of her: war overtook her in 1914 and engulfed her in 1918. The United States seems anxious to be Elisha to Germany's Elijah; we have taken up the mantle which that other prophet laid down: we flout the League of Nations; we trust in our armaments; we are busily acquiring overseas protectorates and spheres of influence; we are entering into naval rivalry with Great Britain; we are so exclusive, so self-contained and prosperous, so smugly content with ourselves, that we wilfully ignore what the rest of the world is saying and thinking about us.

What to do? Everybody can do something, no matter how slight, to remedy the situation, but teachers, particularly teachers of the social sciences, can do a good deal. These are leaders; they are in fact the chief agents of national propaganda, and the kind of nationalism to which the next generation of Americans adhere will be determined in large part by present-day teaching in our schools. To teachers, then, I address a few final words of counsel.

First, we must understand the great problem of nationalism in all its complexity, its involved history and its contemporary ramifications, and we must not expect to solve it by means of any single, simple panacea.

Secondly, we must guard carefully against those forces which have tended everywhere to corrupt "original" nationalism and to transform it into "derived" nationalism, against militarism and the exaggeration of war-traditions, against the new economic imperialism, and against jingoistic propaganda in the schools and in all other agencies of our democratic education.

Thirdly, we must get back to the "original" nationalism of the fathers of this social and political experiment which we call America. We must make our patriotism reasonable, enlightened, toler-

ant, and liberal. In this sense, I venture to suggest, newcomers to our land are less in need of being Americanized than are descendants of oldcomers. So-called "native" Americans should be given daily lessons and exercises in humility and patience; they should be taught to show at least as great a toleration of unfamiliar languages, religions, and manners as General George Washington evinced toward the foreign recruits and aides to his revolutionary army.

CARLTON J. H. HAYES.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE RISE OF AMERICAN SPORT.

Two years before the Pilgrims, heartened by the example of the Jamestown colonists, sailed out of Plymouth for some new Plymouth across the sea, there passed under the royal seal a proclamation of James I touching upon the lawful sports to be enjoyed by his loyal subjects. Through the precise phrasing of its pages one gets glimpses of the religious dissension then stirring England and the bearing of the dispute upon the traditional pastimes of the populace. The king had discovered in Lancashire and other parts of his kingdom "much discontent in consequence of the people being deprived of recreation on Sundays". For this situation he blamed the Puritans and other austere folk. With the hope of winning popular support for the Established Church, he ordered that all who attended services on Sundays and holy days should be permitted to engage in lawful recreations after worship. In the list of approved sports appear the diversions of the English countryside: dancing on the green, the festival around the May-pole, leaping, vaulting, wrestling, pitching the bar and throwing the sledge, which had formerly received the sanction of Queen Elizabeth. Archery, encouraged since the days when the longbowman was an important element in England's defense, was not forgotten, while bull-baiting and bear-baiting received a qualified endorsement.

The English villagers and townspeople who followed in the wake of the *Mayflower* and *Sarah Constant* brought to the New World the sports and pastimes with which they had been familiar in the Old, modifying or adding to them as frontier conditions afforded opportunity. They also brought, especially in the case of the settlers along the shores of Massachusetts Bay and in the Connecticut valley, certain prejudices against the popular recreations of the mother country. For them the beauty of the May festival was overshadowed by the fear of inadvertently drifting into a pagan idolatry. Dancing, running, jumping, and kindred sports of the village green were associated in their minds with profanation of the Lord's Day. Animal-baiting and cock-

fighting they frowned upon as temptations to idleness and dissolute living. Later commentators, prone to select that which they regarded as unusual and abnormal, have stressed the prejudices and taken the pastimes for granted. They have merrily repeated Macaulay's famous quip that bear-baiting was banned not because it gave pain to the bear but because it gave pleasure to the spectators. They have lamented with Nathaniel Hawthorne the short-comings of social life in a day when youth regarded the mid-week lecture and the subsequent public punishment of felons and criminals as a pleasing treat. They have taught generations of American school-children to distinguish between the sad-visaged New Englander moving with sober decorum through a dull routine of work, and the care-free Virginian reveling in the sports of turf and field. Within recent years many historians have insisted that this time-honored distinction between Cavalier and Puritan is less real than apparent, since nowhere in colonial America was there time or opportunity for the development of organized play.

Are we to assume, then, that because games, sports, and other recreations were not highly organized by the early settlers the play impulse was either lacking or carefully suppressed out of deference to Puritan prejudice? Were the colonists really too busy conquering the forces of nature, establishing hearthstone and farmstead, to enjoy the wilderness to which they had come? Everywhere conditioning their activities was the forest. Within its shadow was much that lured as well as repelled. The very trees, which concealed a furtive foe, supplied timbers for the home; the haunts of dangerous beast and troublesome marauder were the source of food and furs. As the pioneer mastered the intricacies of a strange woodcraft, he came to realize the possibilities for the hunter in this boundless woodland. Here was a vast game preserve where no keen-eyed warden earned his living by detecting poachers. No distinction of rank or property determined who should enjoy the privilege of sport with rod and gun. Many a colonist, striving to fill the family larder and replenish the family wardrobe, must have found recreation as well as labor in the enterprise. With John Fenwick he could exclaim: "How prodigal hath nature been to furnish this country with all sorts of wild beast and fowl, which every one hath an interest in and may

hunt at his pleasure; where, besides the pleasure in hunting, he may furnish his house with excellent fat venison, turkies, geese, heathhens, cranes, ducks, and pigeons; and wearied with that he may go a-fishing, where the rivers are so furnished that he may supply himself with fish before he can leave off the recreation.''

This close association of work and play was characteristic of the evolution of fun among a people whose lives were spent in the open. As we look back upon the settlements of farmers and seamen, unfamiliar with the restrictions of indoor life, it is difficult to distinguish where necessary industry ended and pleasurable diversion began. Hunting, for example, was an important means of securing a livelihood, but at the same time it afforded individual recreation and cooperative sport. The thrill of luring the wary trout or playing the gamy salmon was not entirely dissipated by the fact that the fisherman thereby earned a part of his subsistence. Mingled with irksome responsibility and constant danger there were delights of sailing for the seaman. From his vocation he derived the joys which the modern yachtsman associates with a diverting avocation: the satisfaction of controlling the force of wind and wave, of compelling the elements to do his bidding, or, if they served him ill, of finding a means to meet the emergency. In similar fashion the routine tasks of the countryside yielded their measure of fun. On each successive frontier barn-raisings, log-rollings, plowing-bees, and corn-huskings were cooperative ventures, which developed into sporting tests of strength and skill so dear to the heart of the pioneer. In them were nurtured the elements of competition and cooperation essential to the success of modern team-play.

Along the frontier the out-of-door life of the eighteenth century persisted into the nineteenth. In the older communities, however, the opening years of the new century brought a significant change. The clanking of machines was heard; factories arose to house new mechanical devices; steam began to replace water-power in operating the machines. Industrialism had come, and the young nation was groping along the path toward economic self-sufficiency. With industry came the large city, thousands of factory hands and office workers crowded indoors that they might be near the source of employment. To an increasing proportion of Americans the out of doors became a memory of youthful pleasures, now too costly to be enjoyed.

By the middle of the century the less desirable effects of this urban environment were sufficiently apparent to arouse public protests. Just seventy years ago this month Oliver Wendell Holmes, sagely viewing the situation in the Back Bay section of Boston, sounded a note of warning in the Atlantic Monthly. "I am satisfied," he wrote, "that such a set of black-coated, stiff-jointed, soft-muscled, paste-complexioned youth as we can boast in our Atlantic cities never before sprang from loins of Anglo-Saxon lineage. . . . We have a few good boatmen, no good horsemen that I hear of, nothing remarkable, I believe, in cricketing, and as for any great athletic feat performed by a gentleman in these latitudes, society would drop a man who should run around the Common in five minutes." A few years earlier the English angler and nimrod, Henry William Herbert, better known by his penname of Frank Forester, had lamented the fact that Americans scarcely knew the meaning of the word, sportsman, since in most communities they reserved the appellation for one who consistently bet on the races or by the light of the flickering lamp watched expectantly the green field of the gaming table. In 1856, Edward Everett, who was not unfamiliar with collegiate circles, deplored the failure of his countrymen to give attention to "manly outdoor exercises which strengthen the mind by strengthening the body".

Perhaps these jeremiads somewhat overstated the case. Certainly, their authors were not able to foresee the remarkable change already in its initial stages. The very forces of industrialization and urbanization which had placed many Americans within the restrictive limits of indoor life ultimately enabled them to rediscover the out of doors and to substitute for a vanishing frontier a system of highly organized sports as a safety-valve in a strenuous age. By the decade of the sixties the accumulation of wealth in our rapidly growing cities offered to a part of the urban population a chance to escape from an environment far from attractive. At the same time the developing lines of railroad and steamship transportation rendered mountain lakes, woodland streams, and stretches of seacoast easily accessible. For some this meant a country home and the return to a life in the open during at least part of the year. Others sought watering places or mountain resorts, where they built pretentious villas or rented

small cottages, as the crowds at the hotels and boarding houses became too large and heterogeneous. In the hour of high spirits which followed Vicksburg and Gettysburg, William R. Travers and his associates opened a new race course at Saratoga and profited handsomely from the liberal patronage of New York's fashionable set. At the close of the war Newport could scarcely accommodate the summer visitors, while many followed President Grant to Long Branch, when he made the New Jersey resort the nation's summer capital. Shrewd investors quickly exploited the choice spots of the Adirondacks and White Mountains. Nor was distance a deterrent to those seeking an interesting vacation. Scarcely had the battle shouts of the Indians died away in Colorado before Denver, Davos, and Colorado Springs had become rendezvous for tourists. In the South, Jacksonville, Florida, was a mecca for pleasure-seekers, its population doubling every winter season in the decade of the seventies.

Although an increasing number of non-manual workers were enjoying what had formerly been a luxury, an annual vacation, the great majority of city-dwellers could not seek recreation far afield. For them outdoor sports and games offered relief from the strain and nervous tension of a hurried life. Unlike the earlier generations of Americans, they did not associate their play with their work, but they carried into it that genius for systematic organization which had become an outstanding characteristic of expanding industry. With bewildering rapidity teams were formed and federated into national associations. Local clubs became mere units in leagues which recognized the jurisdiction of a governing body clothed with sweeping control of methods and principles. It was indeed the heyday of *organized* sport.

Prominent in the list of athletic activities was baseball. Developing out of such games as "four-old-cat", rounders, and town hall in the decade after 1830, it possessed elements ancient in origin and known to peoples in many lands. Among the exhibits in the British Museum is a leather-covered ball more than thirty centuries old, stuffed with papyrus waste, its segments of cover sewn in such a way as to make it appear an ancestor of the modern baseball. In the long span of years since that ball was used in the valley of the Nile mankind has found many ways of playing ball, but the English seem to have been the first to invent a game

in which the bat was used to score runs and thus determine the issue of the contest. Their stool-ball, rounders, and cricket were finally supplanted in this country by a type of baseball perfected through the ingenuity of Abner Doubleday at Cooperstown, New York, in 1839. The Doubleday style of play grew in favor so rapidly that by 1860 there was an association of baseball clubs in the northeastern states. Although the Civil War temporarily checked the formation of new teams, it brought potential nines together in the camps and behind the battle lines, where it served as an escape from the realities of the battlefield. The intersectional movements of the armies tended to make the sport national, for soldiers can carry more than shelterhalfs and condiment cans in their knapsacks. Following the war came a change in the status of the player, when the Cincinnati Red Stockings, the first professional club, demonstrated in 1869 the possibility of organizing the game on sound business principles. Within two years the professional ball players had a national association. The amateur, however, persisted. He converted vacant lots and school grounds into playing fields, while the professional groped his way toward the formation of the National League in 1876, which has remained the senior circuit of organized baseball ever since.

During the decade of the seventies, years of importance in the expansion of baseball, there were innumerable manifestations of the rise of sport. At Jerome Park in Westchester County, New York, where Leonard W. Jerome, William R. Travers and August Belmont were trying to redeem the reputation of the turf, the well-appointed carriages in which the wealthy residents of Murray Hill had driven out across the Harlem indicated that the social dictators of the metropolis had smiled upon the venture. On a glorious May day in 1875, the Kentucky Derby was first run at Churchill Downs and immediately became a national event for three-year-olds. On the road as well as the turf amateur reinsmen engaged in tests of speed. In the halcyon days of prosperity which marked the nation's recovery from the panic of 1873, few of the rising captains of industry were without a pair of fast trotters and correctly appointed road wagon, prepared to engage in spirited brushes on the road. Their example was followed throughout the country by all who could afford to imitate, even in plebeian fashion, the patricians of the highways.

More strenuous than the stimulating sports of horsemanship were the games and exercises sponsored by the urban athletic clubs. Foremost among them both in point of time and influence was the New York Athletic Club, which three years after its formation secured a tract of land north of the Harlem River at Mott Haven, where it constructed in 1871 the first cinder track in the country and opened its games to all athletes who could qualify as amateurs. The program of events was not elaborate, including the 100-yards dash, the half-mile, mile, and three-mile runs and the three-mile walk, but the invitation to all amateurs sounded a new note amidst the highly commercialized activities of professional runners and pedestrians. So successful was the New York club that it was soon imitated in most of the large cities, the early groups being truly devoted to a regime of physical exercise rather than to the social ventures of wealthy sportsmen. As a result of their rapidly permeating influence there came a demand for definition of amateur status and supervision of track and field meets. Accordingly, the National Association of Amateur Athletes of America undertook the task in 1879, continuing its control until superseded by the Amateur Athletic Union nine years later.

The games of the New York Athletic Club at Mott Haven were a powerful factor in arousing the college student from his lethargy. Within a year Yale staged the first intercollegiate field meet, while in 1874 ten eastern schools participated in the track events which served as a prelude for the rowing regatta at Saratoga. Two years later the Intercollegiate Athletic Association was formed and the long campaign to establish records had begun. In fact the colleges turned to athletics with such abandon that contemporary cartoonists changed their caricature of the undergraduate, as a hollow-chested creature "all brains and no physique", to that of a muscular paragon bereft of all intelligence.

On eastern campuses interest in intercollegiate competition increased. Rowing regattas, which had been sporadic events since a race on Lake Winnipesaukee between Harvard and Yale in 1852, were held with regularity after the formation of the Rowing Association of American Colleges in 1870. At times sixteen or seventeen crews covered the three-mile straightaway course on the Connecticut at Springfield, or on the lake at Saratoga. In

1878 Harvard and Yale began their historic series on the Thames at New London, with the cheers of thousands of supporters urging them to their utmost endeavor. During the same year a Columbia crew returned to receive a tremendous ovation for its victories over both Oxford and Cambridge on the English Thames.

Meanwhile football, though eclipsed by baseball, was taking its place as a campus sport. Princeton and Rutgers had experimented with a form of the English Association game as early as 1869, but the twenty-five players on each side were bewildered by the indefinite character of the rules. A notice in the Harvard Magenta for 1874 announced that "the McGill University Football Club will meet the Harvard Club on Jarvis Field, May 14 and 15. The game probably will be called at three o'clock. Admittance 50 cents. The proceeds will be devoted to the entertainment of our visitors from Montreal". Thus Americans were introduced to the novel feature of running with the ball, which had been worked out by the English schoolboys at Rugby. So favorable was the impression made by the rugby game that the Harvard paper recommended that it be substituted for the "somewhat sleepy game now played by our men". The next year Yale agreed to meet Harvard under "concessionary rules" based on the Rugby code, and in 1876 representatives of Princeton, Columbia, Yale, and Harvard, meeting in the Massasoit House in Springfield, Massachusetts, formed the Intercollegiate Football Association. The English Rugby game had become American.

Outside collegiate circles, also, the attitude toward outdoor recreation had definitely changed. Croquet, introduced from England with the highest references in 1866, swept over the country like an epidemic. Scythe and sickle prepared lawns and vacant lots for expensive English sets of balls and mallets, while the new home was not complete unless a smooth expanse of grass was set apart for the game. It enticed all ages into the open air. It began the process, later accelerated by archery, tennis, and bicycling, of bringing the women out of stuffy living-rooms and parlors to participate in outdoor exercise with men. On many a shady lawn, where a group of iron statuary bespoke the financial status of the household, croquet offered to vivacious girls and demure young women a mild transition from the restrictions which

had hemmed in their mothers to that greater freedom which their daughters were destined to enjoy.

While the experts were converting croquet into a game as scientific as billiards and organizing a national association which supervised annual tournaments, two young men at Nahant, Massachusetts, were initiating their friends into the mysteries of sphairistike. It had been adapted in the summer of 1873 by Major Walter O. Wingfield, of the British Army, from a medieval French game. Dr. James Dight, touring in England the following year, mastered its principles and taught his friend Richard D. Sears. The two introduced the sport at Newport in 1875, the very year that it was christened by its English devotees, lawn tennis. For several years players did not take seriously the diversion of batting a ball back and forth over a net, but in 1881 the United States Lawn Tennis Association had established the sport on such a reputable basis that even the crowd at the Newport Casino was duly impressed.

While tennis was winning its hundreds, the bicycle was affording excitement and amusement to thousands. At the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia a small display of English-made machines had aroused interested comment. Some had listed them as another foolish fad from abroad; others had recalled with grim smiles their previous failure to master the velocipede; while a few had been impressed by the improvements of the new wheel over the old wooden "bone-shaker". The bicycle in 1876 possessed a high front wheel to which were attached crank-like pedals and a small rear wheel scarcely eighteen inches high, each equipped with a solid rubber tire. The wheels were connected by a curved backbone surmounted by a none too soft saddle from which the rider carefully steered the machine, for the smallest obstacle might mean a dive over the handlebars. It was a device to try men's souls, yet bold young blades practised secretly in barns and abandoned warehouses, promptly becoming patrons of the dispensers of arnica and court-plaster. In the end perseverance triumphed and the high wheel became a delightful, though somewhat precarious, resource for open-air recreation. By 1880 the League of American Wheelmen with several thousand members had inaugurated a series of annual meets which drew expert cyclists from every section of the nation.

More than half a century has elapsed since organized sport in its protean forms thus captured the imagination of the country. With the passing years we have manifested an ever-increasing interest, until our attitude has become somewhat akin to veneration. It may not be heresy, however, even in this season when we worship at the shrines of American football, to ask whether modern sport had merited the praise and attention which we lavish upon it. To its credit much may be counted. It has afforded large numbers of urban dwellers, possessed of considerable leisure, many opportunities to escape the restriction of sedentary life. It has provided a valuable substitute for that social safety-valve which was the American frontier. On many a hard-fought field it has kept a flag of idealism flying, which was sorely needed in the frankly opportunistic ethics of the modern business world. It has dotted the land with ball parks and concrete stadia wherein are staged spectacles more regal than those of ancient Rome. It has given us a company of skilled athletes in each generation well worthy of emulation. But organized sport has had its muckers as well as its heroes. Into the spontaneous exuberance of play it has carried much of the shrewd calculation of the horse trade. It has made of intercollegiate football not a game but a vast machine, which threatens by its very complexity to defeat the reason for its being. It has not made us a nation of participants in sports, but a nation of spectators at sporting events. Millions of us still take our outdoor exercise vicariously. By reading the sporting page we attach ourselves to the accomplishments of the team. In the bleachers we share in the home runs and the stolen bases. From dizzy heights on autumnal Saturdays we look down upon twenty-two men struggling for supremacy and feel the joy of combat. There may be benefit in all this, but it hardens no muscles and reduces no waist lines. Perhaps, it would not be amiss in the coming years if we pondered well the question of whether from the plethora of sports our nation has reaped an adequate harvest.

JOHN A. KROUT

REPORT OF OBSERVATIONS AT GENEVA, SEPTEMBER, 1928 GIVEN BY PROFESSOR CHEYNEY.

Professor Cheyney began his speech by saying that he was speaking in a representative capacity, as a member of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland. The question with which he was concerned was: What are the impressions which conditions at Geneva would make upon the ordinary American Teacher?

The first impressions of an observer at Geneva are rather discouraging, according to Dr. Cheyney. In the first place, one realizes anew how difficult are the problems which European countries have to face as compared with those of America. For Europe, international questions are a necessity, for us a luxury. The European nations are still under the shadow of the World War, and thay have to face a much harder group of problems than is generally realized.

In the second place, after listening to the delegates to the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations, one perceives that they are speaking and acting in all important matters under instructions from their home governments. They are not internationally minded men, trying to solve the problems of the world, as Mr. Wilson, Lord Cecil and Monsieur Bourgeois anticipated they would be, but are rather ambassadors from their respective countries. One gets the impression that the Assembly and the Council are trying not to do anything, that they avoid taking action. They seem to be seeking excuses for postponing decisions. Matters are constantly referred back to commissions for further study. One could almost think of the League as an *assemblé fainéant.*

However, the later and more permanent impressions which Professor Cheyney said he gained were distinctly encouraging. In the first place, the League of Nations and its two dependencies, the International Labor Office and the Court of International *Justice,* are realities—no longer mere plans or proposals, as they were ten years ago. They have periodical meetings, a large corps of officials and a regular meeting-place—"a local habitation and a name." Much attention is paid to their pro-

ceedings and decisions in newspapers and by governments and visitors. The League is no longer a dream.

In the second place, there is encouragement to be found in the kind of men sent as delegates to the Assembly and Council meetings. They are generally the most influential men in their respective governments—men who dominate affairs, prime ministers and foreign ministers and other personages of great power. At Geneva, they meet on a common footing. They debate international questions in the quiet atmosphere of an international city, where the surroundings are favorable to peaceful settlement of disputes. Often they meet informally at their hotels and discuss important matters with urbanity and directness. These men are getting to know each other and even building up friendships between themselves, as for instance the well-known friendship between Stresemann and Briand. It is too early, perhaps, to see definite results, but, at least, the ministers are getting the habit of working together.

The practicality of much of the discussion impresses favorably most American observers. This is true not so much of the Assembly, where the atmosphere is formal, nor of the Council, which is dominated by the victors in the World War, as of the six standing committees or commissions. These commissions meet in rooms in the building of the League Secretariat. They are hard-working, impressive gatherings of statesmen, working out common problems by common efforts. There is about their proceedings, however, an atmosphere of easy give and take; they smoke and chat informally. Professor Cheyney mentioned particularly the commission on disarmament, which last September approved the final form of the general treaty of arbitration, which was accepted the next day by the Assembly.

Dr. Cheyney was also much impressed by the work constantly going on at Geneva, month in and month out, in the intervals between the meetings of the Assembly and the Council. Sixteen members of the League keep permanent representatives at Geneva. In addition to these, the International Labor Office, and the Secretariat of the League each has a large staff of officials and investigators. There are also over thirty international organizations which have their headquarters at Geneva. There are conferences, such as the opium conference, which meet from time

to time. There is always a great deal going on and the officials are continually busy obtaining solid and non-partisan information, compiling it, publishing it in various forms, registering treaties, providing for the interchange of information as to naval and military conditions, over-seeing mandated territories, supervising religious and racial minorities and protecting international health. Up to the 20th. of last September, 1850 treaties had been registered. So efficient is the League health service that when an epidemic breaks out in any distant region the knowledge is disseminated throughout Europe not more than five hours later. All of this composes perhaps the most fundamental work of the League and will eventually give to the League a prestige and influence that will enable it to speak with great authority. Professor Cheyney suggested that perhaps, as the result of this work, we might look to the League for the development of the much-needed civilian expert, so that it might be possible to get away from admirals and military men as experts.

To sum up, Dr. Cheyney said that he felt extremely optimistic as to the value of the League as a center for internationalism. The best way to deal with the derived nationalism, of which Professor Hayes had spoken earlier in the day, was to forget it, to substitute for it internationalism, the solution of international questions in an international way. The very geographical situation of Geneva is emblematical—near at hand are the rough hills, symbolizing the difficulties which the League is now trying to surmount, and beyond lie the Alps, with Mont Blanc like a "great, white throne"—the last obstacle which must be encountered before the Italy, geographical not political Italy, of internationalism is reached.

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1927–1928

May 19, 1928

Receipts

Cash balance March 30, 1928	$	412.34
Dues collected during fiscal year 1927-1928		686.00
Advertisements in PROCEEDINGS		285.00
Interest on bank deposits		19.26
Sale of PROCEEDINGS		90.25
Voluntary contributions paid with dues		310.69
Total Receipts	$	1,803.54

Expenditures

Expenses of speakers at meetings	$	63.04
Expenses of secretary in attending meetings at Philadelphia & Atlantic City		19.05
Office equipment		4.30
Postage & stationery		129.08
Multigraphing notices		37.40
Clerical assistance		155.02
PROCEEDINGS		6.15
Membership committee		3.00
Balance on hand	$	1,386.50
	$	1,803.54

Audited and found correct,

J. L. Barnard.
R. F. Nichols

Lena C. Van Bibber,
Secretary-Treasurer.

REPORT OF MEMBERSHIP

November, 1928

Members enrolled in 1928

Paid-up membership		
Paid before May meeting	416	
Recorded members paid since May meeting	133	
New members—joined since May meeting	33	
Total paid-up membership		582
Non-paying members		8
Members in arrears		
For one year	57	
For two years	18	
Total in arrears		75
TOTAL ENROLLMENT		659
Names dropped from roll since May meeting		
Resigned	9	
Not located	0	
Dropped from roll in accordance with constitutional provision	24	
Deceased	4	
Total dropped from roll		37

LENA C. VAN BIBBER,

Secretary.

CONSTITUTION

Article I. *Name and Purpose*

This Association shall be known as the "Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland". Its purpose shall be two-fold: First, to advance the study and teaching of history and other social sciences through discussion and publication and, secondly, to promote personal acquaintance among teachers and students in these fields.

Article II. *Membership*

Any one interested in the study or teaching of history and other social sciences in the Middle States and Maryland shall be eligible to membership. Application for membership shall be accepted or rejected by a vote of the Council at its meeting next following the receipt of such application.

Article III. *Officers*

Section 1. There shall be a President, a Vice-President and a Secretary-Treasurer, elected by ballot at the annual spring meeting. Their duties shall be those usually attached to their respective offices. The Secretary-Treasurer shall carefully preserve records of all meetings of the Council and of all business sessions of the Association; and these and other important records and correspondence shall be kept on file in the office of the Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2. The general direction of the affairs of the Association shall be vested in a Council, consisting of the three officers, the former presidents of the Association, two members elected annually and one delegate each appointed annually by such local associations as the Council may from time to time designate for this purpose.

Article IV. *Meetings*

The annual meeting of the Association shall be held at thetime and place designated by the Council.

Article V. *Fiscal Year and Dues*

The fiscal year shall begin with the annual business meeting. The membership fee shall be one dollar, payable annually in April for the ensuing year. Members who have not paid their dues for the current year shall not be entitled to receive the publication of the Association while in arrears, and members who are two years in arrears and have received three notices of their indebtedness shall be regarded as having forfeited their membership.

Article VI. *Amendments*

This Constitution may be amended at any regular meeting by a two-thirds vote of those present, notice of the proposed amendment having been given in advance of the meeting.

AMENDMENTS

Article I. *Elective Members*

Article III, Section 2 shall be changed to read as follows:

The general directions of the affairs of the Association shall be vested in a Council, consisting of the three officers, the former presidents of the Association, four elective members, two of whom shall be chosen annually for terms of two years, and one delegate each appointed annually by such local associations as the Council may from time to time designate for this purpose. In 1927 two elective members of the Council shall be chosen for one year and two for two years.

SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES

University of California Library, Berkeley, California
Pomona College Library, Claremont, California
Los Angeles Public Library, Los Angeles, California
University of Southern California Library, Los Angeles, California

The College Library, Colorado State Teachers College, Greeley, Colorado

Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut

General Library, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia

The Chicago Public Library, Chicago, Illinois
The John Crerar Library, Chicago, Illinois
General Library, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois
University of Illinois Library, Urbana, Illinois

De Pauw University Library, Greencastle, Indiana

Iowa State College Library, Ames, Iowa
Columbia College Library, Dubuque, Iowa
State University of Iowa Library, Iowa City, Iowa
Cornell College Library, Mount Vernon, Iowa

Kellogg Library, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kansas
State Agricultural College Library, Manhattan, Kansas

Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore, Maryland
Maryland State Normal School, Towson, Maryland

Converse Memorial Library, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts
Graduate School of Education Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts
Smith College Library, Northampton, Massachusetts
Wellesley College Library, Wellesley 81, Massachusetts

General Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan
The Public Library, Detroit, Michigan

University of Minnesota Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota

University of Missouri Library, Columbia, Missouri
St. Louis Public Library, St. Louis, Missouri

State University Library, Missoula, Montana

Nebraska University Library, Lincoln, Nebraska

The Public Library, Newark, New Jersey
Rutgers College Library, New Brunswick, New Jersey

New York State Library, New York University, Albany, New York
Alfred University Library, Alfred, New York
Wells College Library, Aurora, New York
Brooklyn Public Library, Brooklyn, New York
Buffalo Public Library, Buffalo, New York
The Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, New York
Hobart College Library, Geneva, New York
Colgate University Library, Hamilton, New York
Teachers College Library, Columbia University, New York
New York Public Library, New York City
Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie, New York

North Carolina College for Women Library, Greensboro, North Carolina

Carnegie Library, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio
Cleveland Public Library, Cleveland, Ohio
College for Women Library, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio

University of Oregon Library, Eugene, Oregon
Oregon State Library, Salem, Oregon

Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pennsylvania
University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

University of Texas Library, Austin, Texas

Lawrence College Library, Appleton, Wisconsin
University of Wisconsin Library, Madison, Wisconsin

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Atlantic City High School

Vice-President
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Maryland State Normal School at Towson

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C. M. Andrews, Yale University
J. H. Robinson, New School for Social Research, New York City
C. A. Herrick, Girard College, Philadelphia
Eleanor L. Lord, Box 50, Rosemont, Pa.
H. V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania
James Sullivan, Assistant Commissioner for Secondary Education, Albany, N. Y.
Edgar Dawson, Hunter College
A. E. McKinley, Editor, Historical Outlook
Henry Johnson, Teachers College, Columbia University
J. M. Vincent, Johns Hopkins University
Jessie C. Evans, Simon Gratz High School, Philadelphia
M. S. Brown, New York University
L. R. Schuyler, College of the City of New York
D. C. Knowlton, Yale University
A. K. Heckle, University of Missouri
R. W. Kelsey, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
J. M. Gambrill, Teachers College, Columbia University
F. E. Moyer, DeWitt Clinton High School, New York City
J. H. Latane, Johns Hopkins University
J. L. Barnard, Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa.
W. E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania
H. C. Carman, Columbia University

Elective Members

Robert I. Adriance, East Orange High School, East Orange, N. J.
Rachel M. Jarrold, New Jersey State Normal School, Trenton, N. J.
George J. Jones, Central High School, Washington, D. C.
Cleora Sutch, Scarsdale High School, Scardsale, N. Y.

James A. Barkley, History Club of Delaware
Mildred M. Coughlin, History Teachers Association of Maryland
John T. Greenan, New Jersey Association of Teachers of Social Studies
Clarence W. Miner, New York Council for Social Studies
Rachel Selecter, History Club of Philadelphia

LIST OF MEMBERS

Note:—The arrangement in this list is: (1) name, (2) official address, (3) residence. The city or postoffice address is given only once if it is the same for both (2) and (3).

Adams, Charles E., Forest Park High School, Baltimore, Md., 3211 Belmont Ave., Howard Park.
Adams, Gladys Marion, William Penn High School for Girls, Philadelphia, Pa., 835 Drexel Ave., Upper Darby, Pa.
Adele, Sister Mary, Villa Maria College, Immaculata, Pa.
Adriance, Robert I., High School, East Orange, N. J., 179 N. Walnut St.
Albert, Grace, The Baldwin School, Bryn Mawr, Pa., The College Inn.
Allen, Freeman H., Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y., 44 Broad St.
Allen, Joseph Dana, Headmaster, Polytechnic Preparatory Country Day School, Brooklyn, N. Y., 200 Hicks St.
Allen, Margaret E., William Penn High School for Girls, Philadelphia, Pa., 610 S. 48 St.
Allison, William H., Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y., 15 E. Kendrick Ave.
Ames, Herman V., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., 203 St. Mark's Square.
Ammarell, Raymond R., Barringer High School, Newark, N. J., 41 Llewellyn Ave., Hawthorne, N. J.
Amos, Esther Bosley, 3201 N. Calvert St., Baltimore, Md.
Andrew, L. Elizabeth, 3305 Windsor Mill Road, Baltimore, Md.
Andrews, Ada Mary, 3305 Windsor Mill Road, Baltimore, Md.
Andrews, Charles M., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Andrews, Elizabeth Agnes, Miss Wright's School, Bryn Mawr, Pa., 307 Berkeley Road, Merion, Pa.
Andrews, Grace, James Madison High School, Brooklyn, N. Y., 65 Jefferson Ave.
Applegate, Mrs. Stella S., Executive Clerk, New Jersey State Teachers' Association, Room 304 Stacy-Trent Hotel, Trenton, N. J., 130 W. State St.
Arnold, Herbert F., Germantown High School, Philadelphia, Pa., 221 E. Oakdale Ave., Glenside, Pa.
Arthur, L. Louise, Bryant High School, Long Island City, N. Y., 4144 Gosman Ave.

Austin, Margaret F., James Monroe High School, New York City, 2406 Frisby Ave., Bronx.
Bacon, Edna Lorine, East Side High School, Newark, N. J., 87 Fourth Ave.
Bader, Harriet, Maryland State Normal School, Towson, Md., 413 Lake Ave., Baltimore, Md.
Bagley, William C., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City, Westport, Conn.
Baldwin, Frances Elizabeth, Hood College, Frederick, Md., 147 W. Lanvale St., Baltimore, Md.
Baldwin, James Fosdick, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., 160 College Ave.
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The Harvard Tests

BACKGROUND IN SOCIAL STUDIES

THE primary purpose of these tests is to measure the extent of the factual background which pupils bring to any one of the social studies in the secondary school. The fourteen exercises, or two hundred questions, were chosen after an exhaustive analysis of existing tests in history, of representative textbooks in history, civics, economics, geography, and sociology, and, finally, of the results of administering the questions themselves to eight hundred secondary school pupils in eleven schools. These tests were developed under the direction of the Harvard Graduate School of Education and prepared in their present form by Tyler Kepner, Director of Social Studies, Brookline, Massachusetts. Catalogue price, sixty cents per pad of thirty copies.

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